

केन्द्रीय पुस्तकालय

वनस्थली विद्यापीठ

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Dedicated

to

My Students whose

Appreciation has been

My highest reward

and

Whose service has been

My most cherished privilege.

Dat Ent

1-2 MAY 2006

अननीजन्ममूमिश्र स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी

If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans and of one semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India.

Harmüller.

PREFACE

A modern history text-book in these days is expected to contain much information which was not generally included in such books and to present facts clearly and fully in their relation to the life of the people. A mere chronicle of battles and sieges is no longer found interesting and the common experience of all teachers is that the old method of dealing with history is likely to kill interest in its study. Though the real subject of history is still the political activity of man, the tendency in our times is to widen its scope so as to include within its range facts relating to the social and economic life of the country. All aspects of life are inter-related and no one aspect can be fully understood by rigidly excluding the rest. This book is different from others inasmuch as it gives in a short compass the entire story of India's development throughout the ages. It describes not merely the battles and sieges and the activities of kings and statesmen but also portrays the life of man in all its essential particulars. This plan is wholly new and, so far as I know, no other short book on Indian history fulfils the purpose which I have in view.

An attempt has been made to include in this book new facts and to interpret them correctly and sympathetically. Original research in Indian history has been carried out by many scholars in Europe and India and, within my limits, I have utilised its results. It has been found impossible to make detailed references in the limited space at my disposal, but, I trust, the reader, who is acquainted with the subject, will at once find out what a great improvement has been

made on the existing books on Indian history. The history of institutions is a fascinating study and in each period adequate attention has been paid to their development. Details which seemed to be tedious and unnecessary have been omitted and the political history of each epoch is closed with a survey of civilization and social progress. In doing so I have acted without partiality or prejudice for I recognize that truth is the first duty of the historian and he should not sacrifice it for any advantage or gain. In expressing opinions I have refrained from being dogmatic and have tried to base my conclusions on careful study and research. Behind the manifold diversity of Indian history there is a unity which no thoughtful enquirer can fail to discover. Through the centuries one can trace the law of continuity working in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune and the unseen hand of Time bringing into play new forces which have determined the destinies of countless millions.

The chronological method has not been abandoned, for many readers find it difficult to follow history without it. I have tried to combine the chronological and topical methods and this, I hope, will facilitate the understanding of historical events without creating any confusion. The chapter dealing with the post-mutiny period has been written according to this plan. A connected account has been given of the rise and growth of the British Power and of the growth and decline of the Muslims, Rajputs, Marathas and Sikhs. Lovers of romance will fail to find in this sober narrative remarks flattering to their pride but they must remember that any attempt to do violence to the conscience of history will be fatal to the traditions of sound scholarship.

Numerous maps and sketches have been provided to illustrate historical events, and pictures have been added to give the reader an idea of Indian architecture, sculpture, painting and other arts.

Despite the care I have taken the book is not entirely free from defects and I shall be grateful to receive suggestions from those who are engaged in the study and teaching of Indian history.

The University,
Allahabad:
20th April, 1940.

ISHWARI PRASAD

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Buddha answering questions—Ajanta Painting.

INTRODUCTORY

Relation of History and Geography

Land and man are the true foundations of the history of every country. The actions of man have their first cause in the nature of the land in which he lives, and history is the record of his attempts to satisfy his evergrowing needs both on the material and spiritual plane. The physical features of a country, its mountains, rivers, deserts, climate and forests have a great influence on human character and largely determine human action. Historical geography seeks to explain how man's surroundings mould and shape his actions. The fate of India has often depended not merely upon the bravery of her soldiers and the policy of her statesmen but upon the position of mountains, rivers and plains. The Himalaya mountains and the passes in the Hindukush have greatly influenced the course of her history. It is not mere chance that has hardened our customs and divided us into castes and sub-castes each with its peculiar privileges and functions. The seasonal winds and monsoons have made India an agricultural country and added vastly to her wealth. The lie of the land, the shifting course of rivers and the long distances have influenced political history throughout the ages and have made and unmade kingdoms and empires.

Meaning of India

India is not the ancient name of the land in which we live. This name was given to it by foreigners. The Persians changed the river Sindhu by which the country was known into Hindu and the Greeks turned it into *Indos* by which name

the country came to be called. In very ancient times India was called Jambudwipa, a name which is mentioned in the Buddhist works, and in some of the *mantras* recited even now on ceremonial occasions, it is used for the whole country. The term was used merely to indicate the territorial boundaries of the country. The real name by which India was known to the ancient Hindus is Bharatavarsha or the land of Bharata, a hero of the Vedic age, who played a great part in tribal wars and built up an empire for himself. When the Musalmans came to this country they called it Hindustan or the land of the Hindus by which they meant the whole of northern India down to the Vindhya.

Boundaries, Area and Population

India is well fortified by nature and in the words of an ex-viceroy she is 'like a fortress with the sea as a moat on two sides and mountains on the third.' She covers an area of 17,66,579 square miles and her population according to the census of 1931 is 352,837,778. The Hindus and Muslims are by far the largest sections of the population, each numbering 239,195,000 and 77,678,000 respectively. To the north of India lies the Himalayan range which extends over a length of 1,500 miles continuously. The entire course is studded with peaks, like Nangaparbat, Nandadevi and Kinchinchinga, finally culminating in Mount Everest which is 29,002 feet above the sea level. In the north-west the western offshoots, namely, the Kirthar, the Sulaiman and the Safed Koh ranges serve to protect her frontier. Towards the east the region through which the Brahmaputra flows down to join the Ganges is closed in by a chain of mountains which consist of the Naga, Khasi, Jaintia and Arakan Yoma hills. They separate Eastern Bengal and Assam from Burma. Towards the south and west India is girt by the

Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea which have guarded her for ages against foreign invasions.

The Natural Divisions of India

Physically the whole country can be divided into three distinct divisions: (1) The Himalayan region, (2) the Region of Depression from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea including all the thickly populated and fertile districts of Hindustan, (3) and the Deccan Tableland known to the ancients by the name of Dakshinapatha bounded by the Vindhya on the north and by the Eastern and Western Ghats on the Bengal and Arabian Sea coasts.

The Himalayan Region

Running from Baluchistan in the west to Burma and Shiam in the east the Himalayas consist of many parallel ranges. They have cut off India from the rest of Asia and have restricted her intercourse with outside countries. Even to-day there is very limited trade between India and China, Turkestan and Tibet. But the Himalayas are highly useful to India's tillage which is directly or indirectly dependent upon the moisture brought from the southern ocean by the monsoon. The Indo-Gangetic plain owes much of its fertility to them for they supply water to the large rivers which irrigate the vast area included in it. They constitute an impassable barrier in the north but towards the north-west there are passes through which foreign invaders have come in the past. The Mekran, a barren region along the southern coast of Baluchistan, connects India with Persia. Alexander sent a detachment of his army back by this route, and later it was used by the Arab invaders in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Khaibar Pass which supplies a route from Kabul to Peshawar is famous in Indian history. The

invaders of India from the earliest times—the Aryans, Greeks, Huns, Scythians, Turks and Mongols—have all entered India through this defile. An invader in possession of the Afghan region could easily enter the Punjab and if he were a man endowed with real political capacity, he could establish a permanent dominion. The Turks did so. Passing through this gate, they advanced into the Punjab and fixed the seat of their power in the Doab. The Bolan Pass to the south-east of Quetta is like the Khaibar of great commercial and strategic importance but as easily accessible to the invader as the Khaibar. Besides these there are other passes through which connection with countries outside India can be maintained. These are the Kurram, the Tochi and the Gomal. The Kurram is south of the Khaibar and is closed by snow for several months in the year. The Tochi valley leading from Bannu to Ghazni south of Kabul is a route which passes through a difficult country and is not much used. Further south along the Gomal river is the Gomal route to Afghanistan which connects Ghazni with Dera Ismail Khan in the Punjab. The passes in the north are difficult to cross and towards the east the chains of mountains and deep forests make the country inaccessible to outsiders.

The Region of Depression

Wedged in between the Himalayas in the north and the Deccan Tableland in the south lies the Region of Depression which includes the most fertile and densely populated districts of Hindustan. The Indo-Gangetic plain formed by the silt brought by the mighty rivers is an important part of this region. It is the Midland or the Madhyadesa of the Sacred Books of the Hindus, the home of ancient seers, the abode of the solar and lunar races, of the gods and heroes.

of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. In this are situated some of the holiest places of pilgrimage such as Kashi, Ayodhia, Mathura, Kanauj, Hardwar and others. It was here that the Great Buddha preached his religion of peace and from here went forth the pious missionaries who carried the Lord's message into distant lands. This vast plain is watered by the Indus, the Ganges, the Jamna and the Brahmaputra. The Indus rising from the Himalayas in the lake region of Tibet traverses a distance of 1,800 miles and taking the waters of the rivers of the Punjab empties itself into the Arabian Sea. The Ganges 1,500 miles in length rises in the Gangotri glacier of the Garhwal range and enters the plain near Hardwar. Her great tributaries the Jamna, the Son and the Gandak all increase the volume of water which it carries to the Bay of Bengal. The Brahmaputra rises in the slopes of the Kailash mountains near the Mansarowar lake. It flows eastward about 900 miles and then turns round and enters the plains of lower Bengal.

The whole country is so level that in the words of Sir Richard Strachey 'it is not impossible to go from the Bay of Bengal up to the Ganges through the Punjab and down the Indus again, to the sea over a distance of 2,000 miles and more without finding a pebble however small.'

The fertility of this middle land has always tempted the foreign invaders. The Aryans first came here and established their settlements. All later conquerors settled here and built up large kingdoms and empires. The Doab supplied to the political power whether Hindu, Muslim or British the sinews of war which enabled it to conquer the rest of the country. He who conquers the Doab can easily master the whole of India is as true to-day as it was in the middle ages. The rivers being navigable served as a means of

communication in the past and greatly helped the trade and the shipping industry of India.

The eastern part of this vast plain is rich and fertile but the climate is malarious. Its wealth attracted the foreign invader but its climate repelled him. The central power at Delhi in the middle ages could never effectively control it. Being an outlying province with a bad climate, it suffered from neglect and had a tendency to revolt. Ibn Batuta who came to India in the fourteenth century visited Bengal and describes it as 'a hell crammed with all good things of the earth.'

The Ganges has played a great part in the development of the Indian civilization. On her banks have risen and flourished the greatest philosophical systems of the Hindus. On her banks are situated the most beautiful and well-populated cities of Hindustan. As we walk along its course, we pass through a tract of land full of beautiful landscapes, luxuriant vegetation and green fields, stretching for miles, laden with abundant crops which give life and sustenance to millions of human beings. This is why the people of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin worship the river as a sacred stream and regard a dip in its waters as a means of securing the highest bliss.

The Indian Desert

Bounded in the north-east by the Punjab and the United Provinces, in the south-east by Central India, in the west by Gujarat and Sind lies the Indian desert land known by the name of Rajputana. Colonel Tod calls it Rajasthan but even this does not seem to be an ancient word. Rajputana may be divided into two parts. The part north of the Aravallis is a sandy waste; it is unproductive but the other part south-east of the Aravallis is fertile and never

suffers from scantiness of rainfall. It contains Malwa, an evergreen district, now included in the Gwalior State. The highest peak on the Aravallis is Mount Abu in the Sirohi State which is 5,650 feet above sea level. The nature of this desert land has greatly influenced the course of its history. The Rajput Princes, secure in their fastnesses were protected by the desert against foreign conquerors. Even when they were conquered by the Muslim rulers of Delhi, they were left free to manage their affairs. Though the Rajputs always fought among themselves, the rulers of Delhi could never exercise an effective sway over the states of Rajputana.

To the west of Rajputana is Sind which is bounded on the south by the Rann of Kutch and the Arabian Sea. It consists of three parts—the Kohistan or hilly country between Karachi and Sehwan, Sind proper and the desert on the eastern border. In the south-east is the Rann of Kutch, a waste of salt water, about 9,000 sq. miles in area.

The Deccan

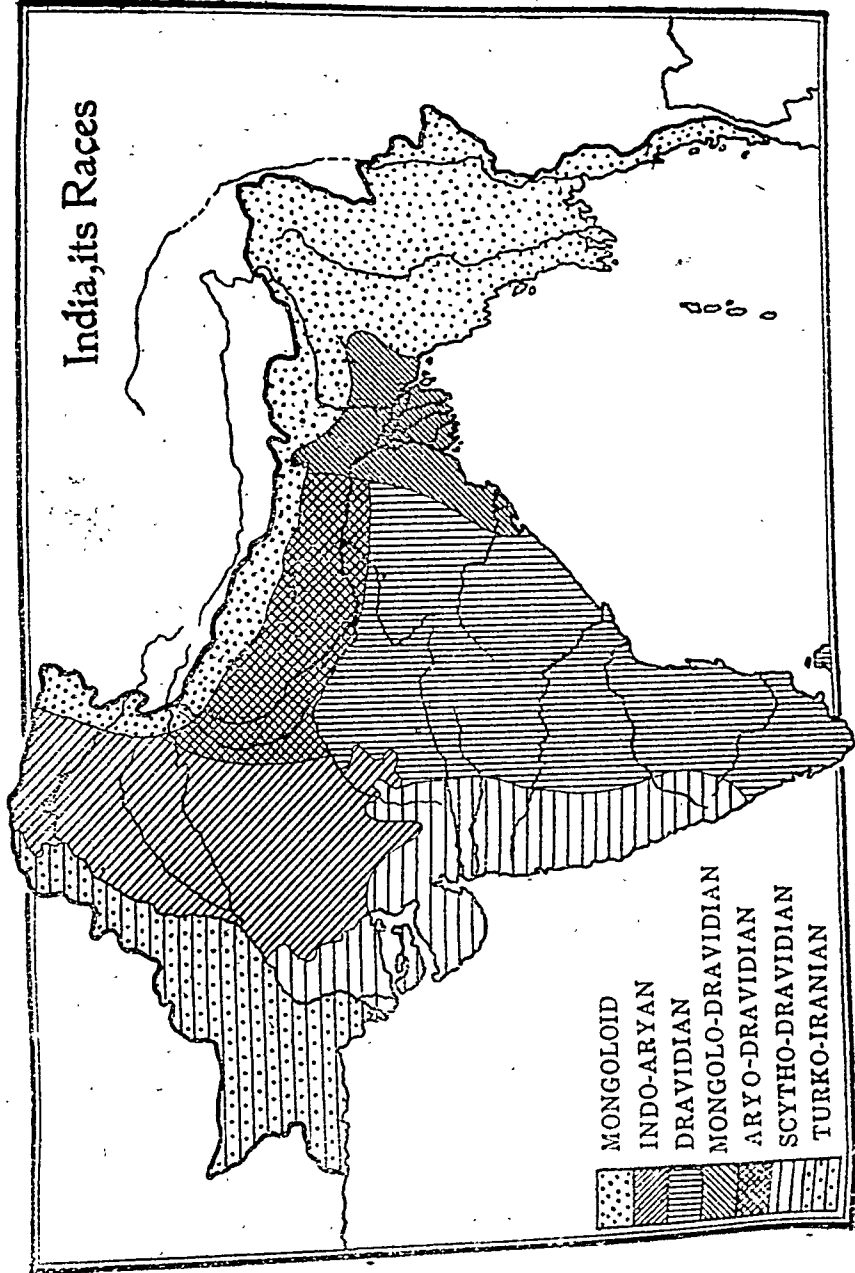
The Deccan or Dakshinapatha of the ancient times is the peninsular country south of the Vindhyas. It is a plateau rising 2,000 feet in height with a slope from east to west and is bounded on its three sides by mountains, on the west by the Western Ghats, on the east by the Eastern Ghats and on the north by the double line of the Vindhya and the Satpura mountains. The latter form a barricade which divides the North from the South. The farthest extremity of the South is sometimes called the Far South which has a history of its own. As the slope of the Deccan is downward from west to east, most of the rivers of this region such as the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Kaveri and the Tungbhadra flow eastwards and pour their

waters into the Bay of Bengal. The Narbada and the Tapti flow towards the west and fall into the Arabian Sea. On both sides of the triangular plateau there are mountain ranges which run parallel to the coast both to the east and west. The Sahyadri mountains or the Western Ghats run from the south of the gulf of Cambay down to the coast and are inhabited by the Marathias. The northern part of the strip is called the Konkan and the southern the Malabar Coast. The Maharashtra or land of the Marathas extends in a perpendicular line from Daman to Nagpur and from there running in a south-westerly direction to Karwar. The three divisions of the land are—(1) the Konkan (2) the Maval country, and (3) the wide open country to the east known as the Desh.

The coastal plain towards the east which lies between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal can be divided into three parts—the northern consisting of the delta of the Mahanadi, the middle formed by the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna and the southern called the Carnatic. The high plateau in the South is the Tamil country inhabited by the Dravidian races.

The physical features of the Deccan have greatly influenced its history. The barrier of the Vindhya and Satpuras made the progress of Aryan civilisation slow in the Deccan where the social divisions, customs and manners are quite different from those of Northern India. The deep forests, zigzag paths and ravines of the Western Ghats made the Maratha country difficult to conquer. The rugged hills made the adoption of guerilla tactics inevitable and enabled the Marathas to defy successfully the Muslim invaders. The scantiness of rainfall and the barrenness of the hilly country had much to do with the character of the people. Their food largely consisted of millet and barley which made them strong and capable of exertion and toil. With these

India, its Races



men Shivaji built up a great power in the South and even after his death his successors baffled the generals of Aurangzeb and maintained their position.

The Dravidians in the South were little influenced by the customs and manners of the North. They remained highly conservative and developed strange prejudices which have set up barriers between one section and another.

✕ Burma

Burma is separated from India by high mountains and dense forests. These mountains have formed a barrier which has kept the people of the two countries apart and has divided them in race, language, religion and customs. The chief rivers of Burma are the Irawadi and the Salwin. The whole country may be divided into three regions—(a) the Coast Strips, (b) Central Burma including the Delta of the Irawadi and the Sitang, and (c) the Region of the Tablelands. Rangoon is now a good harbour and through it passes a large volume of trade.

✓ Fundamental Unity of the Indian people

It is sometimes said that India is a mere geographical unit. This is not true. Apparently it is a land of diverse races, castes and religions but behind all this diversity there is a fundamental unity which no historian can fail to recognise. In ancient times the whole country was known as Bharatavarsha or the land of Bharata and our ancestors were acquainted with every part of it. From the account of rivers, mountains and countries mentioned in the works of Kalidasa it appears that the poet was acquainted with the country and its physical features. The edicts of Asoka found in various parts of India show that the whole country was treated as one and among his feudatories are mentioned

the Kambojas of the North along with the Cholas, Andhras and Pulinas of the South. Religion helped this unity in the past. The following prayer contained in the Puranas is recited by the Hindus all over India :—

गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरी सरस्वती ।
नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरी जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥

[O ye Gangā, Yamunā, Godāvari, Saraswatī, Narmadā, Sindhu, Cāveri, come ye and enter into this water of my offering.]

The four *maths* (monasteries) of Shankarāchārya were established at the four extremities of the country giving the pilgrim an idea of its vast extent in all directions. The most sacred places of pilgrimage such as Badrinath, Dwarka, Rameshwaram and Jagannath practically include the whole country between them and a visit to them is recommended in our religious books as a pious duty.

Similarly, the idea of political unity was not unknown in ancient India. Though there were many states in the country, there existed the idea of paramount sovereignty. The titles of the Gupta kings show that numerous chiefs and princes acknowledged their suzerainty and in the inscriptions they were described as Maharajadhiraja. The paramount sovereign is one whose dominion extends to the remotest parts of the country. In the days of Buddhism the whole country was treated as one unit. It was so in the time of Asoka. In essential matters Hindus throughout the country act alike even to this day. Their fasts, festivals and social and religious rites go to show that they are one people and there is a great homogeneity among them. The idea of unity was also promoted by the Muslims in the middle ages. Akbar, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb tried to conquer the whole country and to establish a uniform system of

administration in all its parts. They regarded the whole country as one unit and tried to bring its different parts under their control.)

Periods of History

The history of India is divided for the sake of convenience into three periods—the ancient, mediæval and modern. The ancient period extends from the earliest times to 1200 A.D., the mediæval from 1200 to 1761 and the modern from the establishment of British Rule to the present day.

Sources of History

Our sources for the history of ancient India consist of literature, archæological monuments, coins, inscriptions and accounts of foreigners. The Vedic literature, the epics, the Jātakas and the numerous literary works that have come down to us yield valuable material for writing a history of India from the earliest period. The coins and inscriptions help us in determining the chronology of dynasties and the ruins of monuments are of great use in settling the topography of ancient towns. The accounts of Greeks and Romans are important but more valuable than these are the observations of the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang who tell us a great deal about the political, social, economic and religious life of the people.

The Muslims were great historians. They have left many chronicles, diaries, letters and records which help us to reconstruct their history. Almost all the Muslim kings had their official chroniclers who recorded the events which they saw. They often write in a bombastic style and highly exaggerate the achievements of their patrons, yet their historical value is very great. The official records like the

Ain-i-Akbari and the *Akhabārāt*, many of which have recently come to light, supply us with valuable information about the working of Government. The coins, inscriptions and monuments of the Muslim period are still things of living interest. They serve to clarify our knowledge of history. The accounts of foreign writers like Alberuni, Ibn Batuta, Abdur Razzaq, Bernier, Tavernier, Mannucci and others give valuable information about India and her people.

The British period is rich in materials. There are numerous state papers, despatches, journals, letters, official records and contemporary writings of independent observers which are highly useful in writing a history of modern India.

CHAPTER I

PRE-HISTORIC INDIA

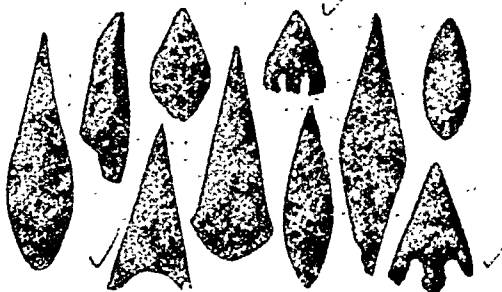
The Conquest of the Aryans

The earliest history of India can be traced to about B.C. 3500, but no doubt India was an inhabited land long before that date. The age about which very little or nothing is known is generally called the Pre-Historic Age. Antiquarians divide this age into four periods according to the implements used for hunting:—

- (1) the Old Stone Age,
- (2) the New Stone Age,
- (3) the Copper Age, and
- (4) the Iron Age.

It is very difficult to relate the history of the very first man and his immediate progeny on the Indian soil, but it appears that the earliest inhabitants of India were a black, short-sized and thick-haired primitive people who lived on wild roots and fruits and earned their food by hunting and fishing. Some scholars are of opinion that they belonged to the same stock as the Negritos of Africa. They did not know the use of metal and were altogether ignorant of cultivation. They used rough implements of stone like axes, spears and knives, etc., with which they killed animals and fish which went to make their food. They lived in caves and never made huts or houses of any kind. They knew the use of fire which they produced by rubbing sticks or stones against stones. Their dress was simple consisting of leaves or hides with which they covered their bodies. The descendants of these people are still to be found in the Andaman Islands, the Malay

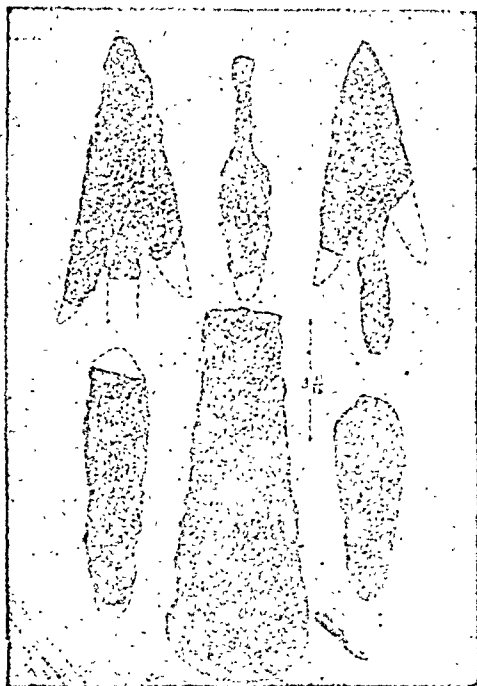
Peninsula and the Philippines. The old view that the Dravidians were the earliest inhabitants of India has now been discarded and scholars are agreed that the men of the Old Stone Age were the earliest settlers of this country and that they lived here prior to the Dravidians.



New Stone Weapons.

^{SW}
^{Age.}
the The men of the Stone Age were conquered by another race of men who were more civilised than they. Their weapons were made of stone but they were not of a primitive type. They were sharper, better chipped and polished than the weapons of their predecessors. They knew how to use bows and arrows and throw darts and missiles. They lived in houses, domesticated animals and cultivated lands. They used the wheel by which they made pottery and knew the use of metals. They seem to have been acquainted with the art of painting in some form as is testified by their pictures on rocks and caves which have come down to us. Among these men are to be included the ancestors of the Santhals, Kols, Mundas of the Central Provinces, the Khasis of Assam, and the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands, who still live in a state of primitive savagery. These people entered the country in two waves, the first of which spread over the whole country and the second did not make any progress towards the Deccan. The first immigration was that of the Kols.

Santhals, the Mundas and Hos and the second of those from whom the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands, the Khasis of Assam and some of the aboriginal tribes of Burma are descended

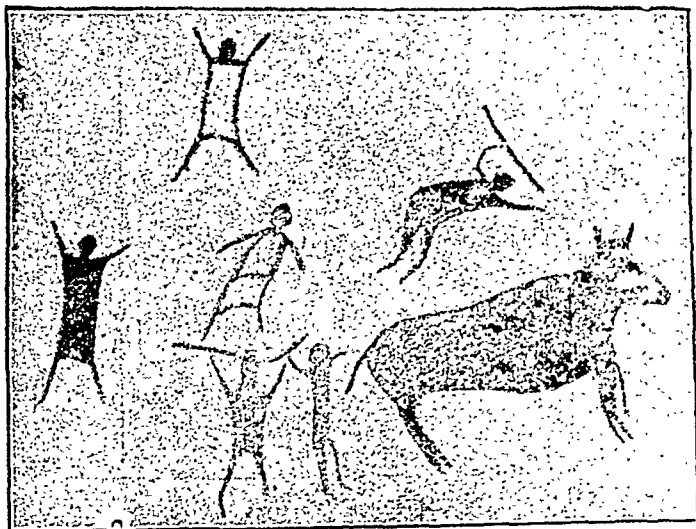


Old Stone Weapons.

The men of the New Stone Age were superseded by others whom we might call the men of the Copper Age. They had implements of copper which they found more useful.

Some scholars are of opinion that these long-headed and fair-complexioned men were of the same stock as the Sumerians of Mesopotamia and the modern Dravidians of Southern India. Probably they entered India through the

North-West passes or by way of Mekrān and Batuchistan more than 4000 years before the birth of Christ, and took their abode in the valley of the Indus. Another view holds that they came from the South and spread towards the North. However that may be, there is no doubt that the Dravidians occupied the country both in the North and South before the Aryan Conquest. They were a civilised people. They knew the use of metals and manufactured weapons of copper. Their ornaments were made of gold and silver



Cave-painting (Singapore, C. I.).

and they had a copper currency in use. They built houses and forts for dwelling purposes. They built boats and ships and sailed in rivers and seas in pursuit of trade and commerce. They had a system of writing and a fairly well-developed language and literature which had a great influence afterwards upon the Aryan language. Their

Mahmud's death in 1206 without an heir left the field clear for Balban and he seized the throne for himself.

He ruled with an iron hand. He knew the country well and its difficulties. The Hindus of the Doab were suppressed with ruthless vigour. The jungles were cleared and the robbers who infested the roads were slain. The Sultan himself marched into the Doab, built forts and posted governors to keep order. In the district of Katehar the rebels were captured and slain in such large numbers that 'the stench of corpses poisoned the air as far as the Ganges.' Balban exerted himself with his usual vigour to deal with the Mughals. He sent his eldest son Muhammad who was a gentle and cultured prince to guard the north-west frontier. New forts were built and the old ones were repaired and the army was always kept in a state of readiness. In 1279 Tughril Beg, the governor of Bengal, revolted. Balban marched into the country at the head of a large force. Tughril fled but he was caught and slain by the royal officers. His followers were impaled alive in the bazar of Lakhnauti and it is said that the butchery was so dreadful that the spectators fainted in terror and disgust. The government of Bengal was entrusted to his second son Bughra Khan.

Balban was a great administrator. He saw the dangers around him and determined to deal with them. He meted out stern justice to all and cared nothing for rank or birth. One of his nobles who slew a man was ordered to receive 500 stripes and the widow of the deceased person was asked to strike the culprit who had murdered her husband and it was with difficulty that the woman was appeased and induced to accept a money compensation. Balban had a good spy system which kept him informed of everything in the state. The real danger to his position was the power of the 'Forty.' He destroyed the Corps root and branch and removed his rivals out of the way in order to assure the future of his

Balban.
(1266—1280
A.D.).

dynasty. His court was a model of strictness where everything was done to strike awe and terror into the people's hearts. By such methods was order maintained and the kingdom of Delhi saved from ruin.

Character.

Balban lived in regal pomp and splendour. His court was well-known in Asia for its magnificence. Refugees from distant countries found shelter there. Balban's discipline was severe. No jest or laughter was permitted in his darbar and no vulgar or low-born persons were allowed to come near it. Though himself a military man, he appreciated literature and extended his patronage to the learned. He protected poor and weak persons and was ever mindful of their comforts. Though a strong despot, he was not devoid of family affection. He dearly loved his son Muhammad, and when the latter was killed by the Mughals in 1285, Balban's grief knew no bounds. He did not survive this blow long and died a year later (1286 A.D.).

Revolution
at Delhi:
fall of the
Slave Dy-
nasty.

After the death of Balban the nobles offered the crown to his second son Bughra Khan but that worthless prince preferred the pleasures of distant Bengal to the burdens of the empire. Then Kaiqubad, son of Bughra Khan, a boy of eighteen years of age, was placed upon the throne. He lived a life of debauch and paid no attention to his duties. His example was followed by his courtiers and the entire administration was thrown into a state of disorder. The minister retired in disgust and was paraded through the streets on an ass as if he were a common felon. Bughra Khan came from Bengal to advise his son but his words fell on deaf ears. Kaiqubad's reckless pursuit of pleasure produced its effect and he was struck down with paralysis.

In this state of confusion there arose two parties—the Khiljis and Turks—who contended for mastery in Delhi politics. The leader of the Khilji faction was Jalaluddin Firuz, the commander of the royal forces. The Khiljis had

India under Ilutmish



their dash and vigour succeeded in overpowering their opponents. Kaiqubad was murdered in his palace of mirrors and thrown into the Jamna by a man whose father had been put to death by his orders. Without any difficulty Jalaluddin Firuz was proclaimed king on January 13, 1290, in the place of Kilūkhari. The sole survivor of Balban's family Malik Chajjū was ordered off to the sief of Kara.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Death of Qutbuddin	1210
Defeat of Eldoz by Iltutmish	1215
Defeat of Qubaicha	1217
Chingez Khan's Invasion	1221
Iltutmish's conquest of Bengal	1225
Annexation of Sindh	1228
Iltutmish receives a patent from the Khalifa	1229
Death of Iltutmish	1235
Death of Reziya	1240
The Mughals capture Lahore	1241
Nāsiruddīn Mahmud's death	1266
Balban becomes king of Delhi	1266
Tughril's rebellion	1279
Death of Balban	1286
Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji proclaimed king of Delhi	1290

CHAPTER XVII

THE KHILJIS

(1290—1320)

Jalaluddin
Firuz Khilji
(1290—1295).

At the time of assuming the reins of sovereignty Jalaluddin was an old man of seventy. The new régime was not liked by the Turks who regarded the Khiljis as inferior to themselves. The Jalali and Balhani nobles still mistrusted each other but gradually the prejudice against the Sultan wore off and the old nobles were deeply touched by his sympathy for the former royal family. Many of those who were unfriendly to the new order were won over by grants of land and a lavish distribution of wealth. But the Sultan's mildness bred sedition in the state. In 1291 Malik Chajju, governor of Kara, rebelled and assumed the royal title. He was defeated and captured along with his associates but, strangely enough, Firuz, instead of punishing them for their misconduct praised them for their loyalty to their old masters. Firuz's mildness became distasteful even to the Khilji Amirs, and though Ahmad Chap, one of the officers of the court, advised the Sultan to be firm, he continued his tenderness even towards Thags and robbers.

As the old Sultan was anxious to avoid war and bloodshed, his expeditions against Malwa and Ranthambhor proved a failure. The only thing to his credit is his victory over the Mughals who invaded India in 1292. A large number of them were allowed to settle near Delhi and the locality inhabited by them came to be known as Mughalpur. They embraced Islam and were called New Muslims.

Ala-ud-din's
expedition
to Devagiri.
1291 A.D.

The Sultan's nephew and son-in-law Ala-ud-din, who had been entrusted with the government of Kara, was a very ambitious man. Having heard of the fabulous wealth of Deva-

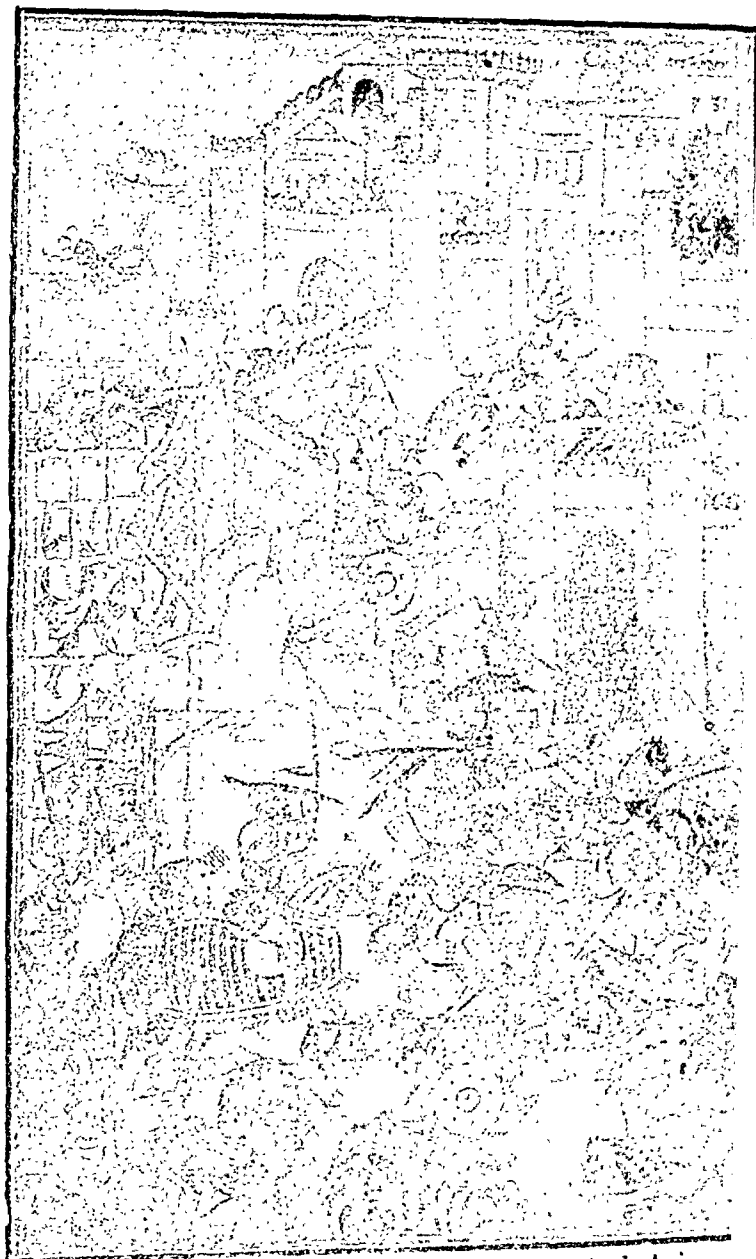
giri, the capital of the Yadava rulers of the Deccan, he resolved to lead an expedition to that country. He kept his plan a secret and represented to the Sultan that he was thinking of an expedition against Malwa and secured his permission for the purpose. But in 1294 A.D. he marched at the head of 8,000 horsemen against Raja Ramachandra of Devagiri and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat. The Raja was compelled to accept his terms according to which he ceded Elichpur and paid a huge indemnity, consisting of several maunds of gold, pearls and other valuable things including a large number of elephants and horses. After this daring exploit Ala-ud-din returned to his charge.

The Sultan was delighted at the news of Ala-ud-din's success in the Deccan and he set out to meet him in person notwithstanding the warning given to him by the loyal and outspoken Ahmad Chap. Ala-ud-din had already decided to seize the sceptre from his uncle and planned his death. When the two met in a barge on the river at Kara, Ala-ud-din gave the signal and the Sultan's head was cut off. His retainers were murdered and to convince the people of the Sultan's death his head was paraded in the army at Kara. Ala-ud-din was proclaimed king on July 19, 1296, and the Amirs and nobles offered allegiance to him.

Murder of
Jalal-ud-
din.

Still the position of the usurper was not secure. The Jalali nobles at once took up the cause of the late Sultan's sons and actually raised one of them to the throne under the title of Ruknuddin. The young prince tried to check Ala-ud-din's progress towards Delhi but his own supporters betrayed him and went over to the side of the enemy. The unfortunate Prince fled to Multan and Ala-ud-din entered Delhi in triumph. His supporters were deprived of their lands and wealth and when nothing was left they were put to death.

Ala-ud-din
Khilji
(1296—1316
A.D.).



Mughal Army besieging a fort in Central Asia.

Having secured his position, Ala-ud-din thought of conquest. In 1297 he sent his generals 'Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan against Raja Karan Baghela of Gujarat. The Raja fled from the field of battle and sought shelter with Ramachandra of Devagiri, leaving his wife to be captured by the enemy. The cities of Anliilwara and Cambay were plundered and at the latter place Nusrat Khan seized a vast booty which included a slave named Kafur who afterwards became famous as *Hazardinari* from the price (of 1000 *dinars*) paid for him by his master. Kafur rose to high position in the state and conquered many countries for Ala-ud-din.

The conquest of Gujarat, 1297 A.D.

Notwithstanding the failure of the Mughals to conquer and occupy any part of the Indian territory, their raids did not cease. In Ala-ud-din's time they became a great danger to the empire and he had to devise drastic measures to prevent them. In 1298 the Mughals entered India under their leader Qutlugh Khwaja, plundering and devastating the lands which lay on their route. The people from the neighbouring country sought shelter in Delhi and it is said that no room was left even in mosques. The Sultan's forces defeated the Mughals and drove them out of the country. In 1301 they appeared again under Ali Beg and Khwaja Tash but they were beaten back with heavy losses. The last Mughal raid of any importance occurred in 1307-08 under the leadership of Iqbal-mandā but the latter was defeated and slain by the royal forces. In dealing with this problem Ala-ud-din followed the policy of Balban. He organised and maintained a large army. All old forts were repaired and new ones were erected on the route of the Mughals and entrusted to tried generals. The outpost of Depalpur in the north was assigned to Ghazi Malik (afterwards Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq) who used to march against the Mughals every winter and inflict heavy losses upon them. The result of this was that the Mughals did not even utter the name of Hindustan as long as

The Mughal Invasions.

Ala-ud-din lived and there was complete peace and security in the country.

Ala-ud-din
and New
Muslims.

The Mughals who had settled in the country had embraced Islam but they were always discontented and restless. Much of their discontent was due to the fact that they could not aspire to high positions in the state. Ala-ud-din dismissed them all from his service. In despair they formed plots to murder the Sultan. When he came to know of their designs, he exacted terrible vengeance. Every new Muslim was put to death and about two to three thousand men were massacred and their families were given to their slayers. Such was the iron rule of the Khilji War-Lord.

The grand
designs of
the Sul-
tan.

The success and prosperity of these early years led Ala-ud-din to form ambitious projects. He wished to found a new religion like the Prophet of Islam and go into the world in search of conquest like Alexander of Macedon. On this point he sought the advice of the fat Kotwal of Delhi Ala-ul-mulk, who told him that religion was the mission of Prophets and that it was highly impolitic for a king to meddle in religious matters. As regards the second project he observed that the glory of a king consisted in conquests but the kingdom of Delhi was in a peculiar position. The Mughals came again and again and ravaged the country causing much misery to the population. There was no able Wazir to look after the affairs of the state during the Sultan's absence. Within India itself there were many places like Ranthambhor, Mewar, Chanderi and Malwa which should be conquered. The Sultan accepted the Kotwal's advice and expressed his intention to act upon it though on his coins he described himself as the "Second Alexander." For the first time a Sultan of Delhi decided to embark on the costly and dangerous enterprise of building up a vast empire.

Ala-ud-din first resolved to capture the famous fortress of Ranthambhor and in 1299 A.D. sent a huge army for the purpose. But the Rajputs offered a stubborn resistance and repulsed the Muslim attack. Hearing this news the Sultan marched in person at the head of a large army, and captured the fort with great difficulty in 1301 A.D. Having appointed his own governor at this place, he directed his forces against Mewar. Tradition says that the expedition was due to lust but there is no doubt that it was part of a larger scheme of country-wide conquest. Chittor fell in 1303 A.D. after a terrible fight and Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, was entrusted with the charge of the fortress. The fall of Chittor was followed by the submission of Malwa. Soon afterwards the rulers of Mandu, Ujjain, and Chanderi were defeated and were compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Khilji Sultan. Thus practically the whole of Northern India was brought under subjection by the end of 1305 A.D.

Having extended his sway over the whole of Northern India, Ala-ud-din turned his attention to the Deccan. He was the first Muslim ruler to attempt the conquest of that distant region, separated from the North by the Vindhya mountains, deep ravines, forests and rivers. Besides the distance, the physical features of the country and the wealth and power of the Hindu Rajas who ruled over large kingdoms in the Deccan, made his task difficult. But Ala-ud-din was not the man to turn back when he had set his heart on a thing. The important principalities in the Deccan at this time were:—

- (i) The Yādavas of Devagiri who had their capital at the latter place and whose chief Ramachandra (1271—1309) was a man of great resources.
- (ii) The Kākatiya dynasty, ruling over the country known as Telingana, had its capital at Warangal

- (in the Nizam's dominions) and was at this time ruled over by Pratap Rudradeva I. The Yādavas and Kākatiyas had a common frontier and often fought against each other.
- (iii) The Hoysalas occupying the country now included in the Mysore State had their capital at Dwāra-samudra. Their king at the time was Vir Ballāla who had come to the throne in 1291-92 A.D.
- (iv) The Pandyas ruled in the Far South with their capital at Madura, occupying the country called M'abar by Muhammadan writers. Their king Kulashekhara I (1268—1311) was a gifted ruler who encouraged foreign commerce and greatly increased the power of his dynasty.
- (v) The Cholas had sunk into insignificance but the Cheras (Keralas) under Ravivarman had greatly increased their power and humbled the Cholas and Pandyas in battle.

The existence of these powerful states in the Deccan did not frighten the Muslim Alexander. He sent Malik Kafur at the head of a large army against the Raja of Devagiri who had failed to pay his tribute. The country was laid waste and Ramachandra was defeated. He sued for peace. Kafur sent him to Delhi to wait upon the Sultan in person. He was treated kindly and given the title of Raya Rayan.

In 1309 Kafur proceeded against the Kākatiyas of Telingana. Raja Pratap Rudradeva I offered resistance but he was defeated. A treaty was made and he had to surrender all his wealth. Kafur returned to Delhi in 1310 with a vast booty borne by a thousand camels "groaning under its weight."

The conquest of Devagiri and Warangal increased Ala-ud-din's pride and he sent Kafur against the Hoysala

and Pandya kingdoms in 1310. Kafur made a dash through the southern country and received help from the rulers of Devagiri and Warangal. The strength of the Delhi army frightened Ballāla and he proposed terms of peace. Kafur demanded the surrender of all his wealth to which the Rai agreed. Having settled the affairs of the Hoysala country, Kafur advanced against M'abar. A pretext for invasion was furnished by the quarrel between the Pandya ruler and his brother who had sought refuge at the court of Delhi. The Rai was defeated, and Kafur pushed on as far as Rameshwaram where he destroyed the great temple and built a mosque in its place. He returned to Delhi in 1311 A.D. The Chera or Kerala king was also overpowered and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi.

After Ramachandra's death his son Sankaradeva of Devagiri had withheld tribute. He was more courageous and self-respecting than his father and so Kafur was sent again to punish him. Devagiri was stormed and Sankaradeva was killed in 1312 A.D. The whole of Southern India now lay at the feet of the Muslim conqueror and Ala-ud-din's empire reached its zenith. It extended from Lahore and Depalpur in the north to Dwārsamudra and Madura in the south and from Bengal in the east to Sindh and Gujarat in the west.

Ala-ud-din did not want to annex the Deccan states to the empire; he only treated them as his milch cow to obtain their hoarded wealth and treasure. He needed money to maintain his large army and to put down revolts and conspiracies. This done, he was satisfied as is clear from his instructions to Kafur who always insisted on the surrender of wealth and the acknowledgment of the Sultan's suzerainty. Such a policy was the only wise choice and Ala-ud-din must have seen the impossibility of ruling these distant countries from Delhi.

Th.
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D.
etc

Administra-
tion.

Ala-ud-din combined in himself administrative ability of a high order with military genius. He adopted drastic measures to put an end to sedition and rebellion in the state. He confiscated all lands held in religious grant or free of rent. The revenue of the Doab was fixed at 50 per cent and collectors (*Amils*) were employed to realise it from the village headmen with great severity. A grazing tax on cattle was imposed and also a tax on houses. Spies were employed who informed the Sultan of everything that happened in his dominions. Drink was prohibited and the Sultan ordered a well to be dug outside the Badaon gate into which all wine-bibbers and -sellers were to be thrown. The nobles were forbidden to have social gatherings at their houses and were not allowed to marry their children without the permission of the Sultan.

The greatest need of the Sultan was a large standing army to put down rebellions in the country and to check the Mughal raids. But this was found impossible without cheapening the prices of necessities as well as luxuries. Regulations

were issued for the control of the market and the prices of all articles were fixed.*

The prices of slaves and cattle were also fixed. A handsome slave boy could be



Coins of Ala-ud-din.

had for 20 to 30 tankas and a milch cow for 3 to 4 tankas. Even the smallest articles such as needles,

* The rates fixed by Ala-ud-din are given as follows by Ziauddin Barani, a contemporary Muslim historian.

Wheat	per maund	...	...	...	7½ jitals.
Barley	"	...	...	...	5 "

ombs, shoes and cups did not escape the Sultan's attention. The revenue of the Doab was realised in kind and grain was collected in royal granaries to be spent in time of need. Officers were appointed to see that the rates fixed by the Sultan were not disregarded by merchants and grocers. They were flogged and kicked for the least deviation from them. If anyone weighed less, an equal quantity of flesh was cut off from his body. The Sultan personally enquired whether the rates fixed by him were followed in the market and anyone who charged more was severely dealt with. All merchants in the town as well as the country were registered and had to enter into agreements with the state that they would sell their goods at the fixed prices. No distinction was made between a Hindu and a Muhammadan. The open space outside the Badaon gate was called the *Sarai Adl*. Here all were asked to bring their goods for sale. Advances were made from the public treasury to the Multani traders to carry on their business. No man was allowed to purchase costly stuff without the permission of the Dewan of the market. The cheapness of food stuffs and other articles of daily use enabled the Sultan to raise an army of half a million horse. He introduced the branding (*dagh*) of

Rice in husk	"	...	...	...	5 jitals.
Mash	"	...	...	...	5 "
Nakhud	"	...	...	...	5 "
Moth	"	...	...	...	3 "
Sugar	per sir	...	...	...	1½ "
Gur	"	...	...	...	½ "
Butter or ghee	2½ sirs	...	...	...	1 "
Oil or sesamum	3 "	...	...	...	1 "
Salt	2½ "	...	...	...	5 "

A jital was equal to 1½ farthings (a little more than a pice) and maund weighed about 23.8 lbs. A tanka was a little more than a

horses in order to check the fraudulent practices of his soldiers and nobles. Such a system could not last long and it was quickly upset after Ala-ud-din's death.

Ideal of
Kingship.

A word may be added about Ala-ud-din's ideal of kingship. The kings who had gone before him acted under the guidance of the 'Ulama (learned in the Law). Indeed the age was one in which religion played an important part in politics. The advisers of kings were orthodox men who asked them to conform to the law of Islām as they understood it. Ala-ud-din struck a new line. He refused to follow the advice of the canonists and declared that he would do what was good for the state and suitable for the occasion without troubling himself about the opinion of the orthodox. This gave a new turn to the policy of the state and the heavy punishments which Ala-ud-din ordered were dictated not by religious but political considerations.

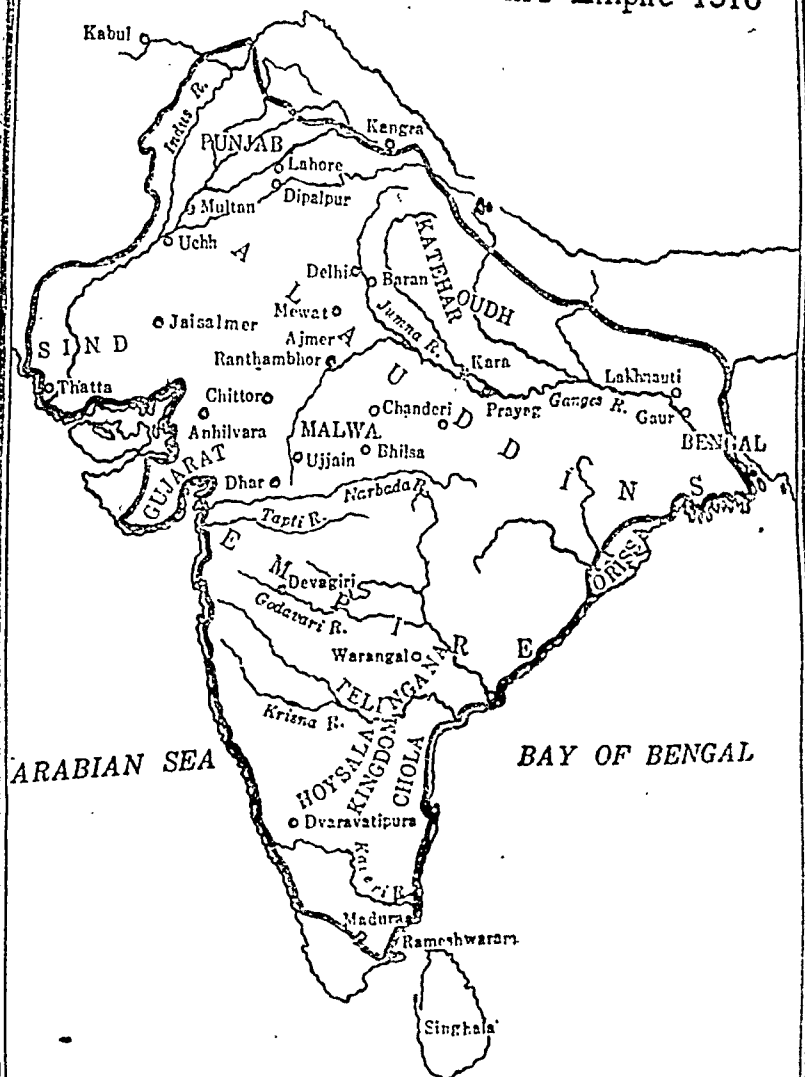
Death of
Ala-ud-din.

Ala-ud-din's excesses had so undermined his health that he was compelled to give up all work. His domestic life was far from happy. His wife and sons neglected him and his trusted servants intrigued to seize power. Rebellions broke out in Gujarat, Mewar and Devagiri and the old despot found himself helpless in the face of these difficulties. His health rapidly declined and he died on January 2, 1316 A. D.

Character
of Ala-ud-
din.

Ala-ud-din was a cruel and self-willed despot. He showed no mercy in dealing with his enemies and inflicted savage punishments on the wrong-doers. A man of great courage, strength of will and fixity of purpose, he achieved fame as a military general of rare ability and built up an empire which practically included the whole of India. He freed the country from the Mughals and organised the administration so efficiently that no officer could take even a farthing extra from the peasants. But in his control of the market he betrayed ignorance of the laws of political econo-

Alauddin's Empire 1316



mony and that is why his system did not last beyond his lifetime. Though he was illiterate, he patronised learned and pious men and gave them lands and stipends. His achievements both as a military leader and administrator entitle him to a place among the great rulers of Indian history.

After Ala-ud-din's death the evils of despotic rule became manifest on all sides and disorder began. The worst feature of such a government is that it breaks down when there is no capable man to guide and control it. The nobles and Amirs, whom the Sultan had put down with a high hand, tried to regain their former position. The Hindu Rajas and Zamindars whose taxes had been increased and who had suffered much from the careful accounts of the revenue minister eagerly awaited the end of the present régime. From the highest officers of the state to the village patwaris and muqaddams who had felt the Sultan's iron hand all rejoiced that the old tyrant was no longer alive to check their bribes. The merchants who had been deprived of their profits also heaved a sigh of relief. Among Ala-ud-din's sons none was fitted to bear the burden of such a vast empire. They had received no education and knew nothing of the art of government. In such circumstances the ruin of the empire was only a question of time.

Malik Kafur, setting aside the claims of the Sultan's eldest son Prince Khizr Khan, placed on the throne Shihabuddin Omar, a child of five or six years of age. His real object was to usurp the throne for himself. But he was murdered after 35 days and the nobles placed on the throne Mubarak Khan, another son of the late Sultan. The new king began well. He abolished his father's tariff-laws and released the prisoners. The lands confiscated in the last reign were restored to their owners. Order was established in the provinces. Raja Harapaladeva of Devagiri was captured and slayed alive in 1318. But the Sultan had

Fall of
Khiljis :
A Dynastic
Revolution.

at this time fallen completely under the influence of Hasan, a Hindu convert from one of the lowest castes in Gujarat. He was given the title of Khusrau Khan and appointed Chief Minister of the realm.

The early successes of his reign spoiled Mubarak's character. He became vicious and began to indulge in the most degrading pleasures. Dressed like a female in the company of harlots and jesters, he insulted the greatest nobles of the state and abused them. The moral depravity of the court produced a bad effect on the political system of the empire. The governors in the provinces began to think of rebellion. Khusrau, the king's favourite, also formed plans to usurp the throne and he succeeded in his attempt. One night he entered the palace with his supporters and murdered him (1320 A.D.). The unclean outcastes insulted the royal ladies, massacred the children and seized royal property.

There is one strange act of Mubarak's life of which there is no example in the history of earlier kings. Unlike the latter he proclaimed (1316 A.D.) himself the Right Hand of the Khilafat and two years later assumed the title of Khalifa of God of heaven and earth. Either it was a fit of eccentricity which led him to do so or his desire to hide the wickedness of his private life under the cloak of religion.

Khusrau Khan ascended the throne under the title of Nāsiruddin and compelled the nobles to attend his court. They did so but one of them Fakhruddin Jūnā (afterwards Sultan Muhammad Tughluq) quietly escaped at night from Delhi, and went to Depalpur where he related to his father Ghazi Malik all that had happened at the capital. Ghazi Malik was deeply pained to hear of the disgrace of the royal family and of the usurpation of an outcaste like Khusrau. Muslim historians speak of a Hindu revival and the setting up

of idols in mosques but this is an exaggeration. Ghazi Malik marched at the head of a large army towards Delhi to avenge the insults offered to the royal family. Khusrāu also collected his forces and the two armies met in the plain of Indarpat where in a contested battle Khusrāu was defeated. He fled from the field of battle but he was caught and beheaded.

Ghazi Malik now received the homage of the nobles and chiefs of Delhi in the palace of the thousand pillars. He betrayed no anxiety to seize the throne. But as the line of Ala-ud-din had become extinct, the nobles by common consent chose him as their king. This revolution again shows that the Muslims did not hesitate to offer the crown to a man of humble birth provided he was fit to wear it.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
The Mughal Invasion of India	1292
Ala-ud-din's expedition to Devagiri	1294
Murder of Jalaluddin Khilji and accession of Ala-ud-din Khilji	1296
Conquest of Gujarat	1297
Qutlugh Khawaja's Invasion	1298
Siege of Ranthambhor	1299
Ali Beg and Khwaja Tash invade Hindustan	1301
Iqbalmandā's invasion	1307
Conquest of Chittor	1303
Conquest of Telingana	1300
Subjugation of Hoysala and Pandya Kingdoms	1310
Death of Sankaradeva	1312
Death of Ala-ud-din	1316
Harpaladeva of Devagiri captured and flayed alive	1318
Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah murdered by Khusrāu	1320
Ghazi Tughluq proclaimed king	1320

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

(1320—1412 A.D.)

Ghiyasud-
din Tugh-
luq—A mild
régime

Ghiyasuddin was elevated to the throne at a time when the empire of Delhi was in a state of confusion. The prestige of the Crown had reached its lowest point, the treasury was empty and the administration had ceased to function efficiently. With great tact and firmness the new Sultan restored order and secured the goodwill of the Turkish nobles. Like the aged Firuz Khilji, he was a staunch but peace-loving Muslim. He was simple in his habits and well-disposed towards his subjects. The first thing he did was to recover the money of the state which had been squandered away by Khusrau to increase the number of his supporters. Many of them complied with the demand but Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, a local saint of great influence, refused to return the money on the plea that he had given away the whole of it in charity. The king did not press the demand for the Shaikh was a holy man but the relations between the two became strained. Besides, the Sultan did not like the Shaikh's ways and habits and asked him to stop the songs and dances of Sufi ascetics but the practice was declared lawful by an assembly of religious men and the Sultan kept quiet.

After this the Sultan reorganized the administration which had fallen into a state of disorder in the last reign. He revived the *daghi* (branding) system and took active steps to make the army efficient. He ordered his officers to improve the condition of agriculture and not to burden the peasantry with heavy taxes. Ala-ud-din had fixed the state demand at one-half but this had been reduced after

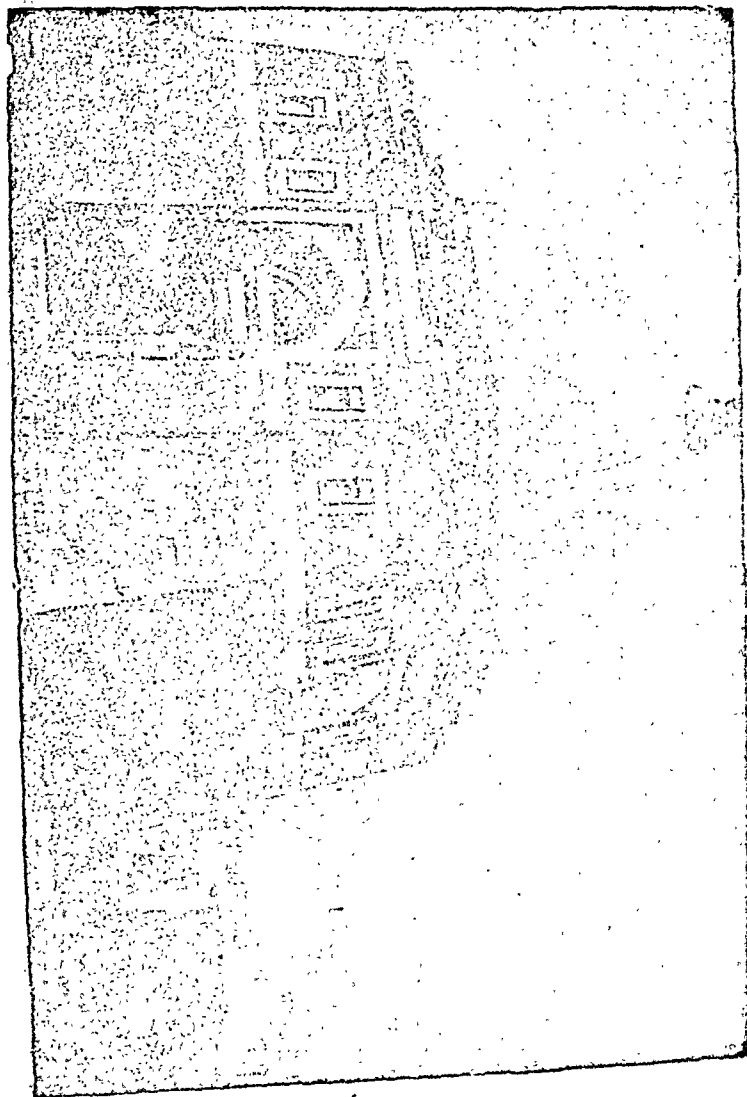
his death. Ghiyas made a rule that the revenue should not be enhanced beyond one-tenth and one-eleventh in the provinces and the country. He tried to avoid uncertain and heavy assessment which was ruinous to a kingdom. The farmers of revenue were better controlled. The amount which they had to pay was fixed and not left to be settled as before from year to year. The position of the chiefs and headmen was greatly improved. Their income was not taxed and they were allowed to live in comfort. The provincial governors were allowed to keep something in addition to their salaries without causing any inconvenience to the cultivator.

Having secured order in the country Ghiyasuddin turned his attention to the Kākatiya kingdom of Telingana, the ruler of which had withheld allegiance after the fall of the Khiljis. He sent his son Prince Juna against Warangal at the head of a large force. But before the fort could be captured, a rumour spread that the Sultan was dead at Delhi. The Prince returned to the capital in great haste and found the Sultan alive. But somehow he secured pardon and was again sent to Telingana in 1323 A.D. The fort was reduced and the Raja with his family and goods fell into Muslim hands. Warangal was renamed Sultanpur and Muslim officers were appointed to govern the country.

In 1324 the Sultan marched to Bengal to support the claims of Nāsiruddin, a prince of the Balbani dynasty, who had appealed to him for help against his brother. The latter was defeated and captured and Nāsiruddin was placed on the throne of Western Bengal.

During the Sultan's absence the party that was hostile to him had been active at the capital. The Crown Prince had become impatient to get the throne and probably he was supported by the Sultan's enemy Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia of whom he was a great favourite. The Prince built a

Tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq



palace at a distance of six miles from Delhi for the reception of his royal father who came and stayed in it. But, it is said, on a signal being given by the Prince, the building fell down and the Sultan with another son was crushed under it (1325 A.D.) Shaikh Aulia's ominous prophecy '*Hinoz Delhi dur ast*' (Delhi is far off yet) came to be true.

After the death of his father Prince Juna succeeded to the throne under the title of Muhammad Tughluq. He was the ablest and the most learned of all the Sultans who had so far sat upon the throne of Delhi. He possessed a wonderful memory, a keen intellect and a highly cultivated mind. He knew the arts and sciences of the age and could write and speak Persian with great ease and elegance. His originality, eloquence and culture so impressed his contemporaries that they called him "the wonder of creation." He excelled in argument and the greatest logicians of the age feared to enter into discussion with him. He was a staunch Muslim who compelled his subjects to observe the tenets of Islam. But he was no bigot. He tried to shake off the influence of theologians and applied his reason to old beliefs and traditions. He did not persecute the Hindus and tried to stop the practice of *Sati*. He was impartial in administering justice and punished the high and low alike. He was kind and hospitable especially to foreigners who came to his court. He conferred large gifts on them and appointed them to high offices. But these noble qualities proved of little use to Muhammad for he lacked judgement and a sense of proportion. His temper was short and the balance of his mind was easily disturbed. He wanted the people to carry out his reforms without delay, and if they hesitated or disobeyed his orders, he punished them with great cruelty.

He was a great general who had won many battles and established his fame in distant countries. Some

Muhammad
Tughluq
1325—51
A.D.

modern historians have described him as mad and blood-thirsty but there is no justification for such a view. To the men of his age he seemed a mixture of opposites. He was cruel and generous, devout yet disdainful of orthodoxy, proud yet the humblest of men.

Extent of
the
Empire.

Within a few years of his accession to the throne Muhammad brought the whole of Northern India and the Deccan under his sway. His empire extended from Lahore and Delhi to Dwārasamudra in the south and from Bengal in the east to Sindh in the west. The whole country was divided into 23 provinces, the most important of which were Delhi, Gujarat, Malwa, Lahore, Tirhut, Lakhnauti, Kanauj, Devagiri and Mabar.

Muhammad's New Schemes of Reform

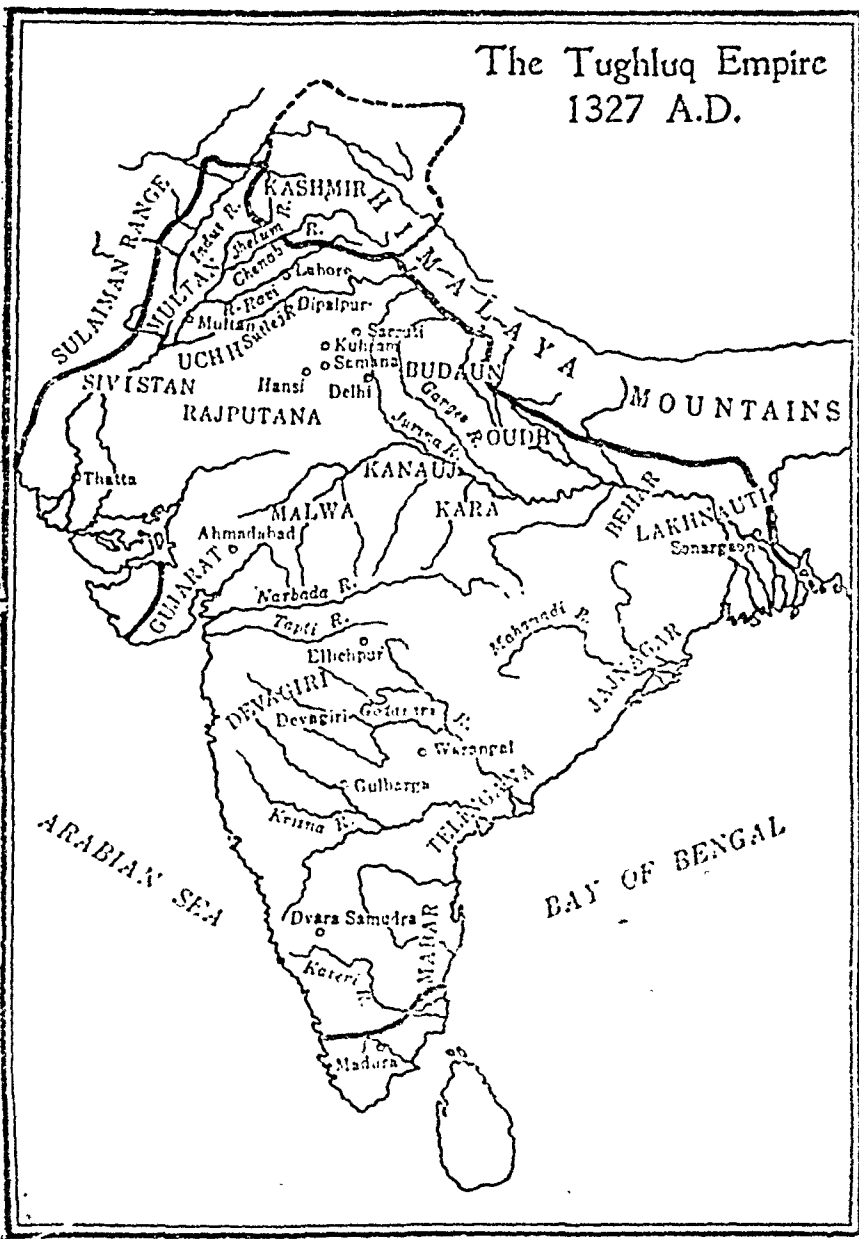
Taxation
in the
Doab.

The first administrative measure which Muhammad introduced soon after his accession (1326 A.D.) was the taxation in the Doab. The Doab was the most fertile part of the empire and capable of yielding a large revenue to the state. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had tried to regulate the assessment of revenue and made certain new rules which have been mentioned before. Muhammad's desire obviously was to increase the revenue. But as ill-luck would have it, the revised taxation was enforced at a time when famine prevailed in the country. The peasants found it impossible to pay and left their fields to escape from the tyranny of the officers of the state. The Sultan's wrath fell upon those who defied his authority and round about the district of Baran (modern Bulandshahr) the punishments were very severe. The Sultan ought to have withdrawn a measure of this kind as soon as he came to know that there was famine in the country. Official rigour and want of rain caused much misery among the people. The Sultan afterwards tried to make amends but it was too late.

The Tughluq Empire
1327 A.D.

The map illustrates the geographical boundaries of the Tughluq Empire in 1327 A.D. Key features include:

- Mountains:** Sulaiman Range, Himalaya Mountains.
- Regions and Provinces:** Kashmir, Multan, Uchhisatkar, Sivistan, Rajputana, Kanauj, Kara, Malwa, Gujarat, Devagiri, Telangana, Dehar, Lakhsauti, Jajnagar, Maharashtra.
- Cities and Towns:** Thatta, Ahmadabad, Elliehpur, Devagiri, Gulbarga, Warangal, Dvara Samodra, Kateri, Madura, Sonargaon.
- Rivers:** Indus R., Jhelum R., Chenab R., Ravi, Beas, Ganges, Jumna R., Nerbada R., Tapi R., Godavari R., Krishna R., Mohandri R.
- Water Bodies:** Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal.
- Other Labels:** Budaun, Gurga, Roudh, Kara, Dehar, Lakhsauti, Jajnagar, Maharashtra.



It was about this time (1326—27 A.D.) that the Sultan decided to transfer his capital from Delhi to Devagiri. Devagiri was central while Delhi was far too much in the north. He wanted a place which would be equidistant from all parts of the empire. In his opinion there was no risk in transferring the capital as the north had been subdued and the fear of the Mughal invasions had been considerably minimised. He ordered the wholesale evacuation of Delhi and carried men, women and children to Devagiri which was renamed Daulatabad. All kinds of comforts were provided, roads were built and money was given to meet the expenses of the journey but the people looked upon this migration to a foreign land as an exile. When the Sultan saw the failure of his scheme, he ordered the people to go back to Delhi and many died in despair. He tried his best to make the old capital once again populous and prosperous but he failed to do so.

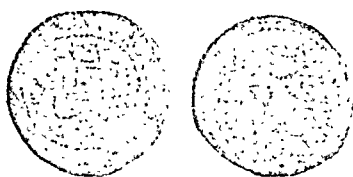
Transfer
of the
Capital.

The scheme was wholly unsound. Daulatabad was situated at a long distance from the northern frontier and it was a mistake of the Sultan to think that it was possible for him to offer adequate resistance, if a foreign invader entered the Punjab from the north-west. Besides, the Hindu Rajas and chiefs who were always ready to rebel could not be kept in check from such a distant base as Devagiri. They were sure to withhold their taxes and declare their independence.

But none of these measures caused so much loss to the treasury as the issue of the Token Currency about 1330 A.D. The Sultan's generous gifts, his taxation policy in the Doab and his transfer of the capital had resulted in a heavy drain on the treasury. He wished to increase his resources to cover the drain and to launch his grand schemes of foreign conquest. Besides, there was another motive. Up till now gold and silver had been used in the kingdom of Delhi for currency

Taken C.
urrency.

purposes. During the later period of Alauddin's reign, plenty of gold had come into Hindustan and disturbed the ratio between gold and silver. This ratio was further disturbed by the scarcity of silver which was common to the whole world at the time. To multiply the amount of currency the Sultan issued token coins of copper which were to pass for gold and silver coins and all transactions were to be effected



Muhammad Tughluq's Coins.

through them. The novelty of the scheme took the people by surprise and since the Sultan had failed to make the mint a state monopoly the token coins were fabricated in private houses. The people paid their taxes in copper and

hoarded gold and silver with the result that trade came to a standstill and the state was put to great loss. The Sultan, who had no desire to defraud his subjects, at once repealed his edict and permitted gold coins to be exchanged for those of copper. Thousands of people from all parts of the country brought the token coins and a mound arose near the fort of Tughluqabad.

These measures made the Sultan unpopular and he came to be looked upon as a visionary who tried to do impossible things.

Administra-
tion.

Muhammad was an autocrat but his outlook was liberal. He did not allow the religious leaders to interfere with his policy and showed greater regard for the Hindus than his predecessors. This made the priestly class hostile to him. His love of justice was so great that he personally looked into the details of the administration and punished laymen and priests alike. Nothing could save a wrong-doer from the punishment which his guilt merited. The Sultan's brother sat with the Qazi in the court of justice to bring to book

powerful Amirs and nobles who broke the law. As there was dearth of talent in the country, he employed foreigners in his service and treated them with great liberality. Men from Turkestan, Persia, Khorasan and other countries of Asia came to his court and received rich rewards and gifts. But his policy had a disastrous effect. The foreigners plotted and intrigued to keep power in their hands and their rebellions caused disorder throughout the empire. The activities of the state were many-sided. It encouraged trade and industries. There was an industrial department where the most costly fabrics for the use of the royal household and the nobles and Amirs were prepared.

As has been said before, shortly after Muhammad's accession to the throne the Doab suffered from famine which caused much distress among the cultivators. A few years later a serious famine occurred which, according to one Muslim historian, lasted for seven years. In Delhi the price of grain rose to 16 or 17 *jitals* per sir and men and cattle began to die of hunger. Men were seen eating human flesh and cooking hides. To lessen the severity of famine the Sultan removed his court to a place which he called Saragdwārī (gate of heaven) in the Farrukhabad district where he collected grain and fodder from the districts of Oudh. He caused wells to be dug and advanced loans to the agriculturists. After his return from Saragdwārī he appointed an officer to devise means of improving the cultivation. Advances were granted from the treasury but the officers were so greedy that they appropriated the money to their own use. Distress continued as before and thousands of people died of starvation.

The
Sultan's
Famine
Policy.

Muhammad was an ambitious general. In the early years of the reign he thought of the conquest of Khorasan. He collected a large army and spent a great deal of money on it but the idea was abandoned soon owing to certain

Foreign
Policy

difficulties. An expedition was sent to the Himalayas to chastise a local hill chief who was at last made to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. This has been wrongly described by historians as his mad project to conquer China.

Disorders
of the
Reign.

The Sultan's prestige was lowered by the failure of his schemes. The long famine produced much suffering and caused a great fall in the public revenues. The provincial governors took advantage of his difficulties. Mabar and Bengal became independent in 1335 and 1337 respectively. The Hindus of the Deccan founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D. 'Ainul Mulk, the governor of Oudh, was goaded into rebellion by the suspicious policy of the Sultan in 1340-41 but he was defeated and disgraced. Soon after disturbances occurred in Sindh but they were put down and order was restored.

The state of affairs in the Deccan was more serious. The foreign Amirs who were in the service of the state stirred up strife and incited their fellow-Amirs in the Deccan to revolt. In 1343 Krishna Nāyak of Warangal organised a confederacy of Hindu princes to rid his country of Muhammadan domination. He succeeded in his attempt and Warangal, Dwārsamudra and Kampila separated themselves from the empire of Delhi. The foreign Amirs organised themselves and with their combined forces defeated the imperial general and captured Daulatabad. They elected one of their leaders Hasan Kāngū as their king (1347 A.D.). He assumed the title of Bahman Shah and his dynasty came to be called Bahmani after his name. The Sultan advanced against the Amirs but he had to leave Daulatabad owing to a rebellion in Gujarat. He chased the rebel into Sindh and collected troops to deal with him. But a few miles from Thatta he fell ill and died in 1351 A.D. Nothing availed to save the empire from ruin, and the policy of punishment which Muhammad pursued throughout his life proved futile.

Man and nature conspired to bring about Muhammad's ruin. His violent and hasty temper, his novel schemes and the impetuosity with which he carried them out disgusted the people and estranged their sympathies. The famine drained the resources of the state and wrecked all plans of administrative reform. The orthodox party offended by the Sultan's impartial justice turned against him and thwarted his measures. The foreign Amirs rebelled in Central India, Gujarat and the Deccan and by 1347 the spirit of sedition spread all over the land. Embittered by opposition, the Sultan lost all faith in the methods of conciliation and severely punished the wrong-doers. But the remedy proved worse than the disease. He sought the Khalifa's patent of authority to strengthen his position but even this failed to secure peace and order in the empire. Causes of Failure.

Ibn Batūta, a native of Tangier in Northern Africa, came to India in 1333 A.D. and visited the court of Muhammad Tughluq. He has left an account of the events of Muhammad's reign and the condition of the people. He was appointed the Chief Qazi of Delhi by the Sultan and treated with great generosity. He dwells upon the rebellions of the reign and supplies many details about the system of government. He remained in India till 1342 and it was after his return to his native land that he wrote the account of his travels. Ibn Batūta is generally truthful and his information is reliable and interesting. Ibn Batūta

Firuz was the son of Rajah, brother of Sultan Tughluq Shah. He was born in 1309 A.D. and was trained in business of government by his cousin Muhammad Tughluq who treated him with great kindness and affection. As Muhammad had no son, he nominated Firuz as his successor at the time of his death. Firuz was a man of a religious turn of mind; he shrank from the cares and anxieties of governing an empire and it was with difficulty that the nobles were able to persuade Accession of Firuz.

him to carry out the wishes of his patron. Two attempts were made to thwart his succession but they ended in failure. During his reign of 38 years (1351—88 A.D.) Firuz did nothing to increase the extent of the empire but introduced useful reforms for the welfare of the people.

The Change
in Political
Ideas.

Since the days of Ala-ud-din Khilji the orthodox party had been in the background. Neither Ala-ud-din Khilji nor Muhammad Tughluq had cared for its advice. They consulted the best interests of the state and tried to protect them. But Firuz was a different kind of man. According to his own admission he was more fit for the life of a darvesh than for the difficult duties of kingship especially in the fourteenth century. He followed the Quran with strictness and accepted the law as given to him by Maulvis and Muftis. Being a strict Sunni he suppressed the Shias and other heretics, who tried to obtain followers among the people. Even in his campaigns he withdrew for fear of shedding Muslim blood when victory was almost within his reach. Such a policy dictated by religious considerations proved fatal to the empire in the long run.

Character
of Firuz.

Although a bigot, Firuz was a kind, pious and generous king who did much for his people. He had no ambition like his predecessors nor had he their capacity or courage. He was timid and his weakness of will marred all his enterprises. Being orthodox, he forbade every kind of decoration in the palace and used earthen vessels instead of those of gold and silver. He never began an undertaking without taking a fal (augury) of the Quran. He showed favour to holy men and whenever he heard of a faqir or a darvesh he went to see him. He was fond of game and was often seen pursuing his quarry in the wild wastes of Badaon. He was a man of wide human sympathies who felt for his subjects and tried to promote their welfare according to his lights. His charity extended to all but religion coloured everything that he did. Life

was to him only a preparation for death and he exhorted other men to turn their thoughts to God. To use his own words he acted on the principle:

“Better a people’s weal than treasures vast.
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast.”

The reign of Firuz was marked by no great conquests or annexations. He made no attempt to recover the lost provinces of the empire. Twice he marched into Bengal but to no purpose. In 1353 he advanced against Haji Ilyas who had declared his independence and laid siege to the fort of Ikhdala but the wails and shrieks of women induced him to raise the siege and return to Delhi against the advice of his generals. The second expedition was undertaken in 1359-60 but Firuz’s weakness again prevented him from securing the obedience of the ruler of Bengal. On his way back, however, he received the homage of the Raja of Orissa and several other chiefs of the neighbouring country.

In 1360 Firuz’s bigotry led him to march against the Rai of Nagarkot who submitted after a siege of six months. A number of books were seized one of which dealing with astronomy was translated into Persian by the orders of the Sultan.

The Thatta (Sindh) campaign of 1362-63 shows the Sultan’s utter lack of military talent and geographical knowledge. He lost his way in the Rann of Kutch and was not heard of for six months. The situation was saved by the minister who managed the affairs at Delhi with great tact and sent reinforcements to the Sultan. A renewed attack resulted in the submission of the ruler of Sindh who was sent to Delhi where a pension was settled on him.

Firuz’s problem was three-fold: (1) to reorganise the administration according to the sacred law; (2) to increase the income of the state; and (3) to promote the well-being of the people who had suffered much in the last reign.

Foreign Policy.

Firuz a-
admiral-
brater.

As Firuz had obtained the throne with the help of the nobles, he revived the system of jagirs which Ala-ud-din had discontinued. He abolished many unjust taxes and retained only four. For the benefit of the cultivators he dug four canals from the Satej and the Jamna and levied ten per cent as the irrigation cess. Waste lands were brought under cultivation and the total revenue of the state became much larger than before. The collections were made mildly and the officers of the state were asked not to take from the ryot more than what was due. The result of this was prosperity of the peasants and the growth of cultivation.

The army was organized on a feudal basis. Lands were granted to soldiers in lieu of salary. They were treated kindly and even old and infirm persons were allowed to continue in service. Posts became hereditary and officers and soldiers were allowed to find substitutes whenever they liked. The Sultan had a large number of slaves who depended upon him for every thing. Their number swelled out of all proportion and they became a menace to the empire.

The Sultan had a great regard for the people. He abolished torture and made the laws more humane. He granted compensation to those who had suffered in the last reign. He granted stipends to learned and pious men, established schools and found work for the unemployed. He established an office called the *Diwan-i-Khairat* (Charity Office) which granted aid to poor Muslim parents for the marriage of their daughters. For the relief of the sick and the suffering a hospital was established at Delhi where medicine and food were given free of charges.

The Sultan was a great builder. He repaired many old buildings and constructed new ones. He laid out 1200 gardens and built many mosques, palaces, tanks and inns for the travellers. He founded the towns of Fathabad, Firuzabad and Jaunpur.

Timur's Invasion 1399



→ → Timur's Advance.

← ← Timur's Return.

Firuz's kindness was often misplaced and had a bad effect on the administration. The policy of *jagir* was a mistake. It led to rebellion and independence. The Sultan connived at the faults of his officers and encouraged them to employ corrupt ways. The army was ill-organized and inefficient. Merit was no qualification for public service and when a man died he was succeeded by his son or son-in-law. There was no regular system of audit, and accounts often remained unchecked. As the Sultan was unwilling to master the details of business, he delegated his authority to others who did what they liked.

Firuz died in 1388 A.D. and his death was followed by a period of confusion and anarchy. The throne of Delhi was claimed by rival princes and led to wars of succession. The rulers were mere puppets in the hands of the nobles who raised them to the throne, and who used them for their own selfish purposes. The last ruler of the dynasty was Mahmud Tughluq who was a weak and incompetent man utterly powerless to end the strife of parties or to put down the rebellions of Hindu chiefs and provincial governors. In such a state of confusion the news was received that Timur the Lame was advancing upon India.

The Later
Tughluqs
and Timur
Invasion

Timur was a Turk who belonged to the Barlas Tribe. He was a mighty conqueror who had overrun practically the whole of Western Asia and built for himself an empire. He set out from Samargand with a large army and reached the Indus in September, 1398 A.D. He occupied Multan and then marched to Bhatner which was captured and the Hindus suffered heavily. From thence he proceeded to Delhi, plundering and devastating the lands that came in his way. Here a large army consisting of 10,000 horse, 40,000 foot and 120 elephants assembled to meet him. But it could offer no resistance to his fiery Turks and Sultan Mahmud Tughluq fled in panic to Gujarat.

Timur entered the city and held a court which was attended by the principal citizens of Delhi. The holy men of the city begged him to spare the lives of the people and Timur is said to have granted a general amnesty. But the promise was not kept and his soldiers plundered and massacred the inhabitants. Timur was impressed by the stately buildings he saw in Delhi and ordered many artisans to be captured. They were sent to Samargand to build the famous mosque which he had planned.

On his return journey Timur took Meerut and pushing further north defeated the Hindus in the neighbourhood of Hardwar. He left India after inflicting ruin and misery upon the people, the like of which they had never suffered before in any single invasion.

The effects of Timur's invasion were disastrous. Disorder and anarchy prevailed in the country. Delhi was depopulated and its fair cities and castles were sacked and burnt. Famine and pestilence further added to the misery of the people. Men and cattle died in large numbers and the country was impoverished. So complete was the ruin of Delhi that 'for two whole months not a bird moved wing in Delhi.' The empire was broken up and in the outlying provinces the local governors became independent. Mahmud tried to regain his lost power but in vain. He was successfully opposed by Khizr Khan, Timur's viceroy in the Punjab. The luckless Mahmud died in 1412 at Kaithal after a fruitless reign of 20 years and with him the Tughluq dynasty came to an end.

Causes of the fall of the Tughluq Empire. The Tughluq dynasty produced some able rulers but they failed to make the empire strong and permanent. Muhammad's policy caused rebellions in all parts of his dominions and famine greatly added to the sufferings of the population already tired of his innovations. The foreign Amirs whom he had employed in his service often disregarded

his orders and cared little for the interests of the empire. Firuz was a benevolent but weak despot. His natural weakness of will and his habit of being guided by the priestly class marred the effect of his reforms. His whole policy tended to weaken the administration and create disorder in the state. The number of slaves increased to 180,000 and meant a heavy drain on the financial resources of the administration. Their appointment to the highest offices in the state caused dissatisfaction among the nobles. The successors of Firuz inherited neither prestige nor power. They found it impossible to suppress the factions that arose at the capital. When the central government became weak, the provincial dynasties established themselves and developed their own administration and culture.

Besides these causes there were others that existed in the organisation of the empire itself. In 1327 the Tughluq empire extended from Delhi to Dwārsamudra in the south and from Thatta to Caur in the east. The long distances of the various provinces and the absence of the means of communication made proper management difficult and the local governors found it easy to declare their independence.

The Hindu chiefs were not yet reconciled to the loss of their power and were ever ready to profit by a state of disorder. The empire did not command their loyalty and devotion. They rejoiced in its decline and judged it a good opportunity to free themselves from its control. The frontiers of the empire had been neglected since the days of Ala-ud-din. The Tughluqs, possibly in the belief that all danger was over, did nothing to safeguard the frontier and to bar the entry of foreign invaders into India. Among the numerous officers there was none who had an intimate knowledge of the position and resources of the countries of Western Asia. The result of this was that when Timur's vanguard under his son crossed the Indus there was nothing

to resist its advance into the country. Much depended upon the character of the monarch in the India of those days. His strength or weakness determined the future of his dynasty. An incapable ruler had no chance amidst contending parties and rebellious chiefs. Lastly, a merely military empire resting on force could not last long. The decline of its power at the centre was a signal for the provinces to separate themselves from the parent organisation.

Chronological Summary

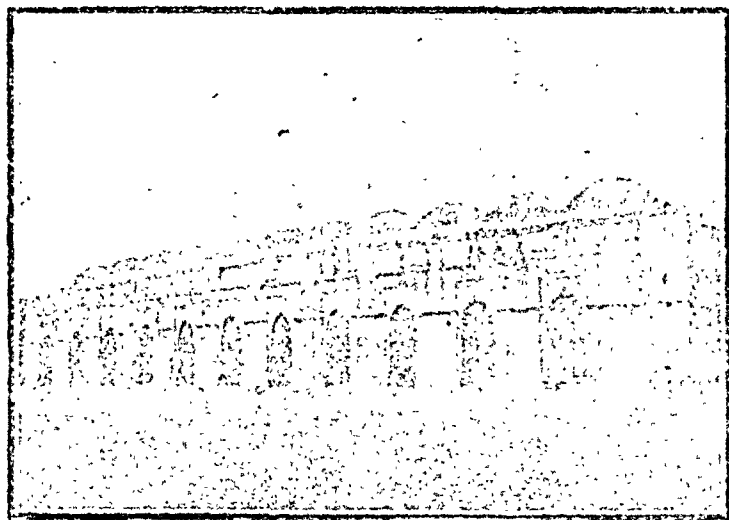
			A.D.
Birth of Firuz Tughluq	...	...	1300
Conquest of Telingana	...	...	1323
Death of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq	...	...	1325
Transfer of the capital to Daulatabad	...	...	1326-27
Introduction of Token Currency	...	...	1330
Ibn Batūta's arrival in India	...	...	1333
Independence of M'abar	...	...	1335
Foundation of Vijayanagar	...	...	1336
Independence of Bengal	...	...	1337
Revolt of Krishna Nāyak	...	...	1343
Foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom	...	...	1347
Death of Muhammad Tughluq	...	...	1351
Firuz's first expedition to Bengal	...	...	1353
The second expedition	...	...	1359-60
Conquest of Nagarkot	...	...	1360
The Thatta campaign	...	...	1361-63
Death of Firuz	...	...	1388
Timur's invasion	...	...	1398
Death of Mahmud Tughluq and the extinction of the Tughluq dynasty	...	...	1412

CHAPTER XIX

THE PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES

After the fall of the Tughluq empire India was split up into a number of independent states some of which became very powerful and acquired a vast influence. The unity of the country was destroyed but there was no anarchy or disorder, for the new kingdoms set up strong and efficient administrations. A feeling of provincialism grew up which bred intolerance of rival organisations and made war for political supremacy inevitable. Political activity was localised and each state followed its own line of development. The most important of these states were Bengal,

The Break-up of Unity.

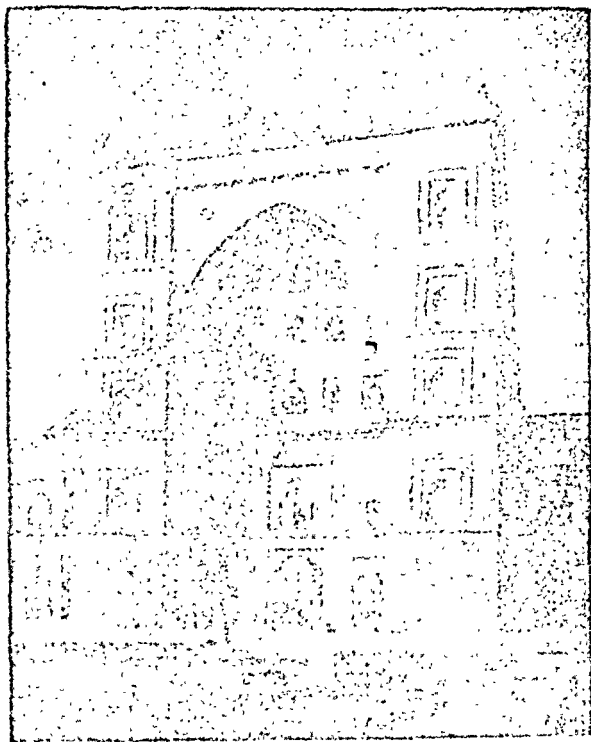


Bara Sona Masjid—Gaur.

Jaunpur, Malwa, the Rajput principalities in the North and the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms in the South.

Bengal.

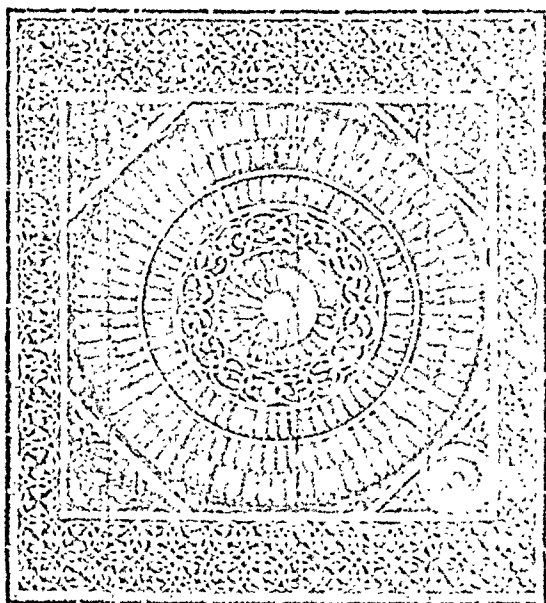
Bengal declared its independence in the time of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. Firuz made an attempt to recover it but his timidity spoiled the fruits of victory. In 1493 the throne of Bengal was occupied by Husian Shah who founded the Husaini dynasty and opened a new era in the history of the province. He was a strong and capable ruler who established order in the country. He was succeeded by his son



Atala Masjid.

Nusrat Shah (1518—30) who conquered and annexed Tirhut and maintained friendly relations with Babar, the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. After the decline of the Husaini dynasty

the Afghans under Sher Shah made themselves masters of Bengal and Bihar. They held the country until they were ousted by Akbar in 1576 when Bengal was annexed to the Mughal empire.



Fine Decorations in the Atala Mosque.

The kings of Bengal were great patrons of art and learning. They built mosques and founded charitable institutions. The city of Gaur is famous for its monuments. It contains a large number of buildings mostly of brick of which the tomb of Husain Shah and the Qadam Rasul are the most famous. The mosque at Adinā is well known for its beauty, design and construction. These kings gave an impetus to the development of literature. The Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata were translated into the Bengali language which was patronised by the state. The Bhāgavata was also

Jaunpur.

translated into the vernacular by Malādhāra Basu and Vidyapati, the celebrated Maithil poet, wrote some of his poems in praise of Nusrat Shah.

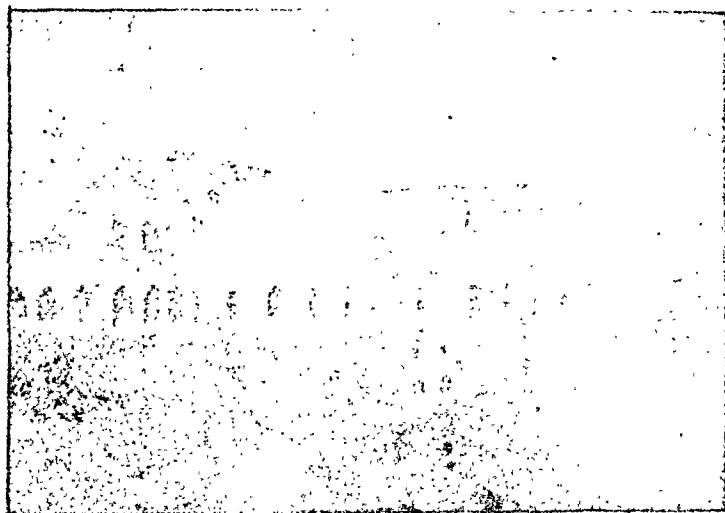
The kingdom of Jaunpur was founded by Malik Sarwar Khwaja Jahan who was entrusted with the government of the whole country from Kanauj to Behar by Mahmud Tughluq in 1394. He was also given the title of Malik-us-Sharq (lord of the east) from which the kingdom came to be known as Sharqi. During the confusion that followed the invasion of Timur, the Khwaja Jahan declared his independence and made Jaunpur his capital. The most remarkable ruler of the dynasty was Ibrahim Shah Sharqi who came to the throne in 1402 A.D. He was a man of talents and a great lover of arts and letters. He went to war with the kings of Malwa and Delhi and compelled Sultan Mubarak to make peace. The last ruler of the independent dynasty of Jaunpur was Husain Shah who was defeated by Sultan Bahlol Lodi and the kingdom was annexed to the empire.

The Sharqi kings were great patrons of learning. They gave shelter to learned men who fled from the court of Delhi at the time of Timur's invasion. Jaunpur became a famous seat of learning and began to be called the Shiraz of the East. The Sharqi kings were great builders. Some of their buildings exist to this day. These are the Jam-i-Masjid, the Atala Masjid and the Lal Darwaza Masjid which combine solidity with exquisite design and elegance. The palaces of the Jaunpur kings were destroyed by the Lodi emperors of Delhi.

Malwa.

It was during the stormy period following the invasion of Timur that Dilawar Khan, who claimed descent from Muhammad Ghorī and was given the *jagir* of Dhar by Firuz Tughluq, declared independence in 1401 A.D. He seized Malwa and established a new kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Hushang Shah (1405—34 A.D.) who transferred

his capital from Ujjain to Mandu which was adorned with many beautiful buildings. In 1435 A.D. his minister Mahmud Khilji usurped the throne for himself and put an end to the line of Dilawar. The new Khilji Sultan was famous for his bravery and generalship all over Hindustan and under his rule Malwa became a powerful and prosperous kingdom. In 1531 A.D. Mahmud II, the last ruler of this



Palace at Mandu

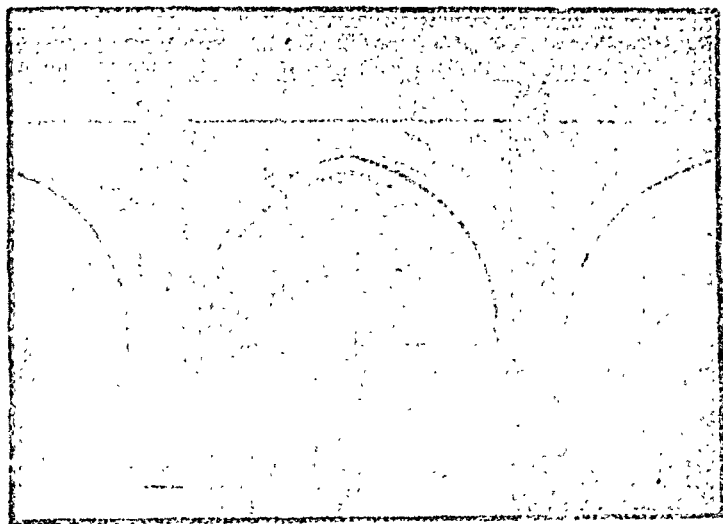
ne. was defeated by Bahadur Shah and the kingdom of Malwa was annexed to Gujarat. It continued to be a part of it until it was conquered by Humayun.

The rulers of Malwa had a great liking for buildings. They adorned their capital Mandu with many beautiful mosques and palaces of which the tomb of Husain Shah, the mosque built by Mahmud Shah, the Hindola Mahal and the Jahaz Mahal are the most well known. These buildings

are generally built of red-sandstone and white marble has also been used in decorations.

Gujarat.

Like the governors of some other provinces mentioned before Zafar Khan who had been entrusted with the government of Gujarat declared his independence in 1401 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah in 1411 A.D. who proved to be a brave and warlike ruler and was the true



Fine Carvings in a Masjid at Ahmadabad.

founder of the independence of Gujarat. He laid the foundation of the town of Ahmadabad on the bank of the Subaramati and adorned it with beautiful buildings. He defeated the ruler of Malwa in 1421 A.D. but granted him pardon on the promise of fealty in the future. He was a bigot and in his zeal

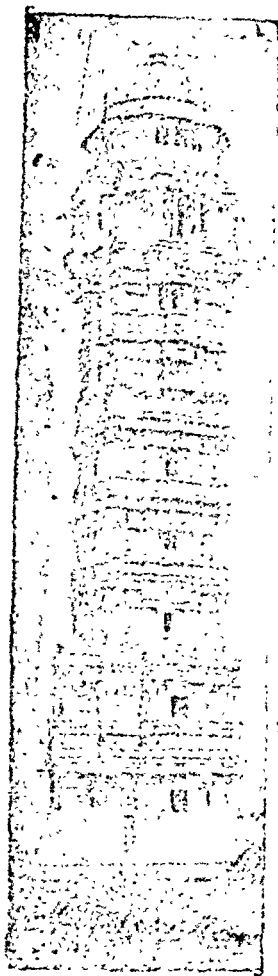
for the faith he waged wars against the Hindus, razed many temples to the ground and compelled them to embrace Islam. But the greatest ruler of Gujarat was Mahmud Bizarla who ascended the throne in 1459 A.D. He was a great warrior and a man of military talents. The Rajputs of Champaur surrendered to him and the Raja of Junagarh was forced to accept his authority and the pirates infesting the sea-coast of Gujarat were suppressed. But in 1507 A.D. he was defeated by the Portuguese who were now able to establish their power on the sea-coast and become the master of the sea-borne trade. The last great ruler of independent Gujarat was Bahadur Shah (1526—37). He conquered and annexed Malwa and defeated the Rana of Mewar. His ambition alarmed Humayun who marched against him but was in the long run defeated. His attempt to expel the Portuguese from Diu was a failure. They conspired against him and had him treacherously murdered. His death was followed by anarchy and disorder in Gujarat which was conquered by Akbar and finally annexed to the Mughal empire in 1572-73 A.D.

Some of the kings of Gujarat were great builders. Before the Muslim conquest, the Jains had constructed fine buildings the materials of which were used by Muslims. The workmen employed by the latter combined Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture and produced a new style to suit Muslim tastes. Numerous stepped wells, towers, mosques and palaces were built which are still admired as wonderful works of art. Ahmadabad grew into a flourishing town and became a centre of silk and cotton manufactures.

The states of Rajputana like other parts of India had felt the force of Ala-ud-din's arms. He had captured the fort of Ranthambhor and conquered Mewar, the leading state in Rajasthan, in 1303, but after his death the Muslim garrison

The House
of Mewar.

was expelled from Chittor and Mewar again recovered its



Tower of Victory—Chittor.
benefit of his people. Of all his buildings the Tower of Victory (Jayastambha) at Chittor still stands to remind us of his greatness.

independence. Rana Hammir did much to reorganise his resources and he is said to have defeated either the Sultan of Delhi or one of his generals. During Rana Kumbha's reign (1433—68) the power of Mewar greatly increased, and several wars were waged against the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat in which victory sometimes rested with the Rana and sometimes with his opponents. In 1437 the Rana defeated Mahmud Khilji of Malwa and brought him a prisoner to Chittor where he was kept for six months and then released without a ransom. War with Malwa and Gujarat continued, and the attacks of the two Sultans were repulsed by the Rana.

Rana Kumbha was a philosopher, scholar, warrior and statesman. Himself a master of various arts and sciences, he extended his patronage to learned men. He was the author of a number of books on different subjects. He composed poetry and was a skilled player on the flute. He built numerous temples, tanks and wells for the

benefit of his people. Of all his buildings the Tower of Victory (Jayastambha) at Chittor still stands to remind us of his greatness.

The most remarkable of Kumbha's successors was Itana Sangram Singh better known in history as Rana Sanga who came to the throne in 1509. He was an undaunted warrior who defeated the kings of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat in battle and established his fame as a mighty leader all over Hindustan. He collected a large army and brought many of the chiefs of Rajasthan under his influence. By 1526 he had become the most powerful prince in Hindustan. His resources were so great that even Babar, the Mughal conqueror, who fought against him later at Khanua was impressed by them and makes mention of this fact in his well-known autobiography.

The kingdom of Orissa was ruled by the Rajputs of the Ganga clan who traced their descent from the moon. The most powerful ruler of this line was Anantavarman Choda Ganga who consolidated the resources of his small principality and developed it into a powerful kingdom. It was this great ruler who built the famous and holy shrine of Jaganmuth. The throne of the Gangas passed into the hands of Kapilendra about 1434-35 A.D. He extended the frontiers of his state from the Ganges to the Kaveri. In 1568 the Muslim sultans of Bengal conquered the kingdom, and a few years later it was annexed by Akbar to the Mughal empire.

The Bahmani Kingdom was founded by the foreign Amirs in 1347 during Muhamad Tughluq's reign. They elected one of their leaders Hasan Kangu as their king. He claimed descent from Bahman bin Isfandiyar of Persia and assumed the title of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah. Hence the dynasty came to be called Bahmani. The story that Hasan gave this name to the dynasty out of gratefulness to Gangu, the Brahman astrologer of Delhi, who had predicted his fortune is quite incorrect. The word Bahmani has nothing to do with Brahmana. Hasan was a capable man. He issued his own coins, divided the kingdom into four provinces (*tarafs*) and

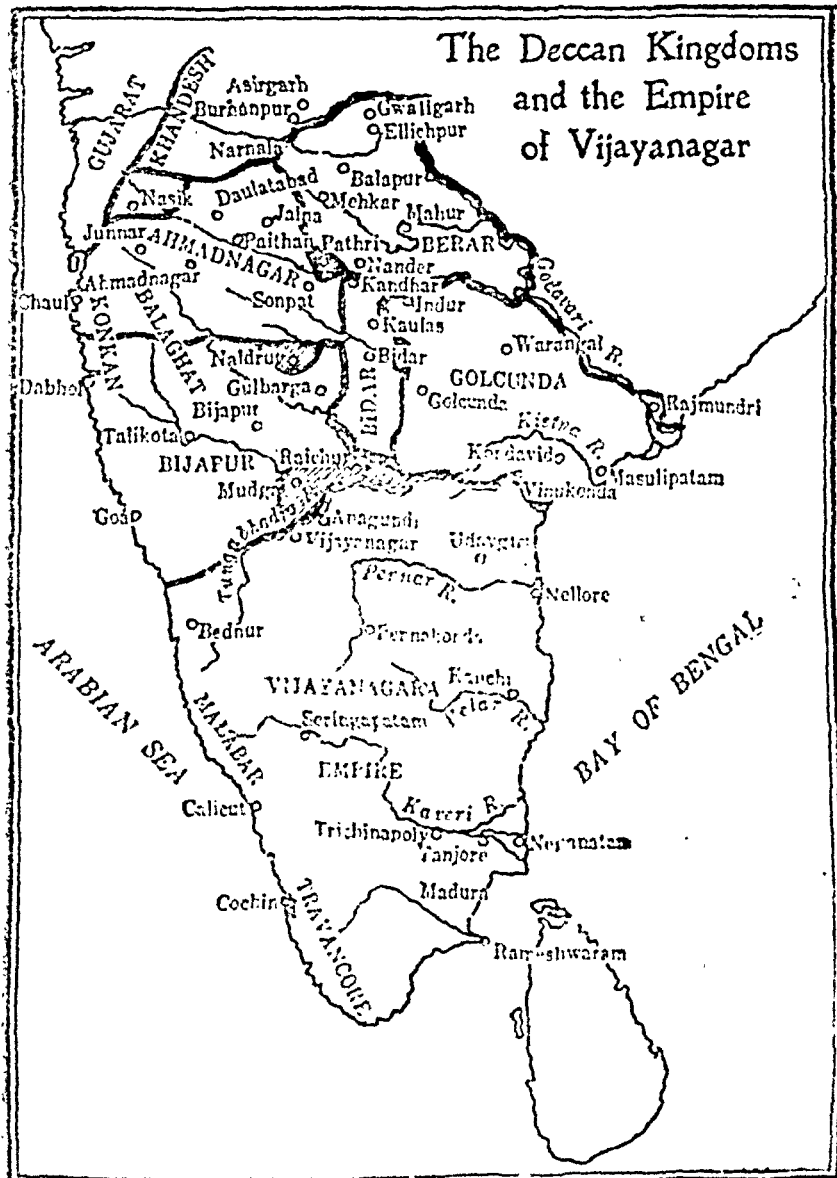
laid down rules for the guidance of his officers. He fixed Gulbarga as his capital.

A great rival of the Bahmanids was the newly founded empire of Vijayanagar which was founded by Hari Hara and Bukka in 1336 A.D. Both fought long and hard for supremacy but victory rested sometimes with one party and sometimes with the other.

The Bahmani kings were despots. The successors of Hasan, Muhammad Shah I (1358—73) and Firuz (1397—1422) deserve to be mentioned. They fought against the Rajas of Vijayanagar over the Raichur Doab, the land between the Krishna and Tungbhadra rivers. Ahmad Shah (1422—35) who succeeded Firuz fought against the Rayas of Vijayanagar, Warangal and the chiefs of Konkan. In his battles he slew thousands of men and assumed the title of Wali as the reward for his services to Islam. He transferred his capital to Bidar, a new town which he adorned with beautiful buildings. The kingdom began to decline in the reign of Muhammad Shah III (1463—82) owing to internal disorders. Mahmud Gāwān, the minister, who was a statesman of great ability and integrity, tried to reform the administration and gather the threads of authority in the hands of the king. But the Deccani nobles, who were excluded from power, turned against him and brought about estrangement between him and the king. The old minister was executed on a false charge invented by his enemies. His death deprived the state of the services of a devoted public servant who alone could have saved it from ruin.

Mahmud Gāwān was one of the ablest of mediæval statesmen. He lived a pious and simple life and exerted himself to promote the interests of the state. He founded a college at Bidar to which he transferred his library containing 3000 books. He spent his leisure hours in his college and found delight in the society of learned men. After Muham-

The Deccan Kingdoms and the Empire of Vijayanagar



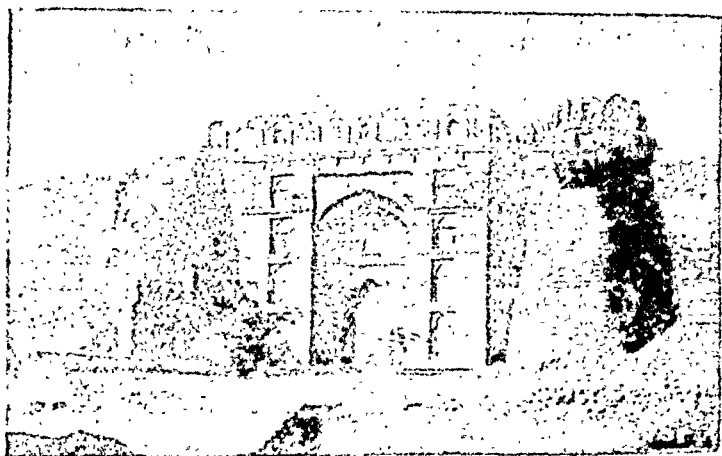
mad's death in 1482 his son Mahmud Shah succeeded to the throne but he was utterly unfit for the duties of sovereignty. The kingdom rapidly declined and broke up into five independent states :—

- (1) The Imadshahi dynasty of Berar founded by Imad-ul-mulk and annexed to Ahmadnagar in 1574 A.D.
- (2) The Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar founded by Nizamshah in 1493 and annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar.
- (3) The Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur founded by Adil Shah in 1481 and annexed to the Mughal empire by Aurangzeb in 1686 A.D.
- (4) The Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkonda founded by Qutb Shah in 1518 and annexed to the Mughal empire in 1637 A.D. by Aurangzeb.
- (5) The Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar founded by Qāsim Barid in 1526 and finally annexed to Bijapur.

The Bahmani kings, though fond of war and bloodshed, imitated some of the great rulers of the East in extending patronage to learned and pious men. They endowed schools and in the Deccan villages the old grants of Bahmani kings continue to this day. They built large fortresses of which Gwaligarh and Narnulla are the most famous. The city of Bidar was founded by Ahmad Shah who built magnificent buildings in order to make it one of the best capitals in the Deccan.

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 by Hari Hara and Bukka, chiefs of Anagondi, with a view to set up a Hindu power in the Deccan which might counterbalance the influence of the Muslims. It grew by rapid strides and

soon developed into an empire, commanding the allegiance of many Hindu princes in the Deccan. In its best days the empire extended over the vast area now covered by the Madras presidency, the Mysore and certain other states of the Deccan. The frontiers reached to Cuttock in the east and Belate in the west and towards the south touched the extreme border of the peninsula. The growing power of the new empire aroused the jealousy of the Bahmanids and the two fought against each other with great bitterness. The first



Gateway Fort, Bidar.

ing of the dynasty was Hari Hara who died about 1353 and was succeeded by his brother Bukka who completed the building of the city of Vijayanagar and won glory by his conquests. Another notable ruler was Deva Raya (1419—1459) in whose reign Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners—Nicolo Conti, the Italian, and Abdur Razzaq, the Persian envoy, both of whom have left valuable accounts of the city and its greatness. The successors of Deva Raya failed to



Ruins of Vijayanagar.

maintain their power and the empire was usurped by another dynasty in 1505.

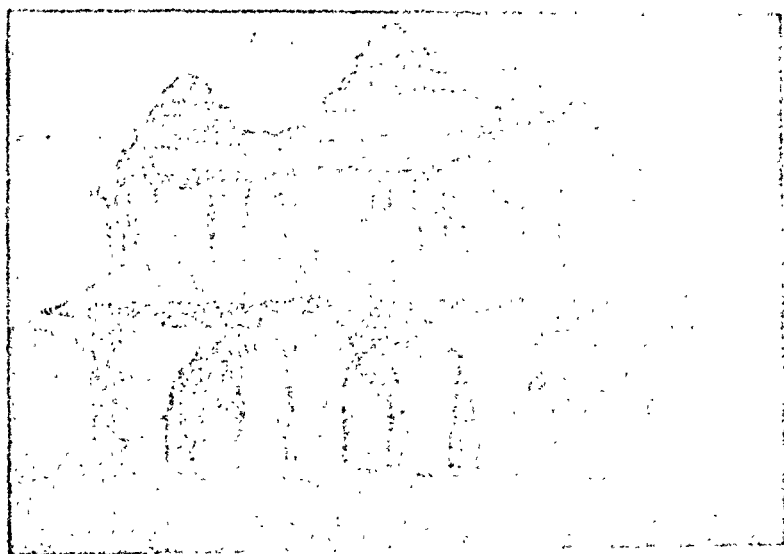
The ablest ruler of the dynasty was Krishna Deva Raya who came to the throne in 1509 A.D. He was an accomplished monarch who valued learning and extended his patronage to scholars and poets. His religious views were liberal and the foreigners were received well at his court. He defeated the king of Orissa and the Sultan of Bijapur and maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese. After his death in 1529 an era of weak kings began. During the reign of Sadasiva Raya, one of his successors, all power was seized by his minister Rāma Rājā who by his arrogance offended friends and foes alike. The Muhammadan powers of the Deccan with the exception of Berar made a common cause against him and defeated him in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. This defeat was due to the defection of two Muhammadan generals who went over to the enemy. The army was panic-stricken and Rāma Rājā was wounded in the confusion that followed. He was beheaded: his treasures were seized and the city of Vijayanagar was sacked and its stately buildings were destroyed.

The battle of Talikota ruined the empire but it had also a bad effect upon the Muslims. The fear of Vijayanagar had kept them united and active but now having no strong enemy to oppose them they quarrelled amongst themselves and fell an easy prey to the Mughal emperors of the North.

Abdur
Razzaq on
Vijaya-
nagar.

Abdur Razzaq was a Persian envoy who visited the city of Vijayanagar in 1442 A.D. He praises its grandeur and says that the city of Bijanagar was such that the eye had not seen nor ears heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It was so built that it had seven fortified walls one within the other. The bazars were lined with shops on both sides and diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls were publicly sold by jewellers. The tradesmen of each separate guild or

craft had their shops close to one another. The country was for the most part well-cultivated and fertile. There were about 300 good seaports in the kingdom. The army numbered eleven lakhs. In the whole of Hindustan there was no Raja more absolute than the ruler of Vijayanagar.



Council Chamber—Vijayanagar.

The king was an autocrat whose authority was unlimited. He was assisted by ministers who had departments under their control. The empire was divided into provinces (rajyas) more than 200 in number over each of which princely viceroys who belonged to the royal family or was a powerful noble

Adminis-
tration.

of the state. The farming of taxes was in vogue and in certain parts of the empire the taxation was very heavy. The king maintained a huge army which was swelled in time of war by the auxiliaries, furnished by the provincial governors. The Dandanāyaka dispensed justice in courts and appeals from his decisions lay to the king. The criminal law was severe. Mutilation and torture were practised even in the case of ordinary offences. The village assemblies had ceased to exist after the rise of the Vijayanagar empire and the affairs of the rural areas were now managed by officers of the state. The kings of Vijayanagar were Vaiṣṇavas but they granted freedom of worship to all.

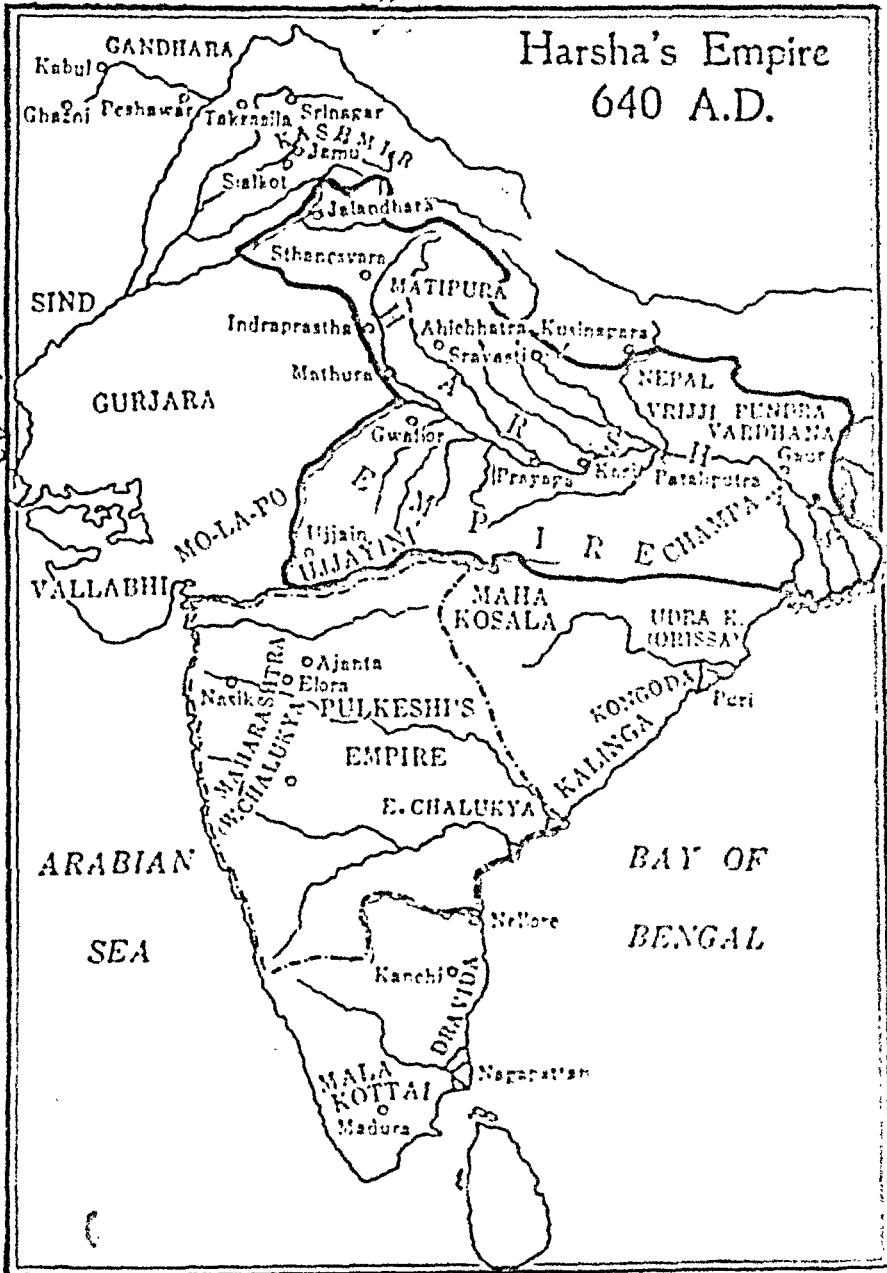
Social life.

The life of the upper classes in Vijayanagar was luxurious, while the poor lived in misery and suffering. In many parts of the country there was over-taxation. The trades and crafts were organised into guilds and the heads of guilds had much influence at Court. They could secure remission of taxes from the government. The Brahmanas were held in esteem. They amassed large fortunes and held high offices in the state. The custom of *Sati* prevailed but women seem to have enjoyed a position of dignity and honour. Many of them were well-educated. They composed poems and could explain the works of great poets and dramatists. They knew music and dancing and some of them practised even wrestling. A woman once interviewed Deva Raya II on behalf of a temple and secured from him the grant of a village.

Art and Literature.

The kings of Vijayanagar had a great taste for buildings. They constructed numerous temples, palaces and fortresses and encouraged the art of painting. The remains of their buildings which have been discovered at Hampi testify to the high skill and workmanship of their painters and sculptors. Literature also flourished under their patronage. The commentary of Sāyana on the Vedas and the works of Mādhva on philosophy were written during this period.

Harsha's Empire 640 A.D.



Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Malwa declared independence	1401
Independence of Gujarat	1401
Accession of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi	1402
Accession of Ahmad Shah to the throne of Gujarat ...	1411
Abdur Razzaq's visit to Vijayanagar	1422
Mahmud Khilji usurped the throne of Malwa	1425
Accession of Mahmud Bicarha	1450
Foundation of the Adil Shahi dynasty	1484
Foundation of the Nizamshahi dynasty	1493
Rana Sanga's accession to the throne	1509
Foundation of the Qutb Shahi dynasty	1518
Foundation of the Barid Shahi dynasty	1526
Bahadur Shah of Gujarat defeated Mahaud II of Malwa	1531
Battle of Talikota	1565
Conquest of Orissa by the Muslim rulers of Bengal ...	1568

CHAPTER XX

THE SAYYIDS AND LODIS

(1414—1526 A.D.)

The Sayyid
rulers.

After the death of Sultan Mahmud Tughluq, Khizir Khan, who had been entrusted with the fief of Lahore and Multan by Timur, seized the throne of Delhi in 1414 A.D. Confusion and anarchy was the chief feature of the time. The Sultan's dignity and prestige was at a low ebb. The Hindus were again regaining their lost position and were creating trouble. After the death of Khizir Khan in 1421 A.D. three more rulers of the same dynasty succeeded to the throne but none of them was able and strong enough to restore peace and order and to enhance the royal dignity. Alam Shah was the last ruler of the line who was raised to the throne in 1443 A.D. Bahlol Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, refused to acknowledge his suzerainty. He seized the throne in 1451 and styled himself as the Sultan of Delhi though he retained Alam Shah's name in the *Khutba*. Alam Shah retired to Badaon where he was allowed to live in peace till his death in 1476.

Bahlol
Lodi

Sultan Bahlol was brave and generous and a man of military talents. In personal capacity he was far superior to his immediate predecessors. With his accession to the throne the empire of Delhi received a fresh lease of life. Bahlol suppressed the unruly nobles with great vigour, put down all elements of disorder and restored peace and prosperity in the realm. Then he busied himself in settling the kingdom of Jaunpur which was founded in the last days of the Tughluq dynasty and was from that time governed by Sharqi rulers. After a long and desperate struggle, Bahlol was able to

The Lodi Empire



conquer Jaunpur and he placed it in charge of his eldest son Barbak Shah. This conquest strengthened the position of the Lodi Sultan and raised his prestige. The rebellious chiefs of Kalpi, Dholpur and of some other places submitted to his rule.

Bahlol was a pious and honest Muslim who followed the Quran strictly. He was a man of simple habits who never made a show of his regal pomp and splendour. He treated his former colleagues with respect and never made them feel that he was their king. He loved justice and heard the petitions of his subjects himself. He was kind to the poor and spent large sums in charity. He liked the society of learned and pious men and extended his patronage to them.

After the death of Sultan Bahlol Lodi in 1489 A.D. his son Nizam Khan was raised to the throne under the title of Sikandar Lodi. The new Sultan was very strong and energetic and busied himself in organising the departments of his government with great vigour. His brother Barbak Shah contested his claim to sovereignty and assumed the title of king but he was defeated and taken prisoner. He inflicted a severe defeat upon Husain Shah Sharqi and annexed the province of Bihar to his kingdom. He concluded a treaty of peace with the ruler of Bengal, by which both were to maintain friendly relations. The Sultan's prestige was now greatly enhanced and Dholpur, Gwalior, Chanderi and several other places offered submission. In 1501 A.D. he founded a new town on the site where the modern city of Agra now stands and made it his capital. A terrible earthquake occurred at Agra in 1505 A.D. which levelled a large number of buildings to the ground and resulted in heavy casualties.

Sikandar was the greatest and ablest of the Lodi Sultans. He brought the unruly Afghan nobles and haughty chiefs under his control and strictly enforced his orders. Thus 1-

was able to restore peace and order throughout the realm. Unlike his father, he held a splendid court and maintained great pomp and dignity. He was greatly feared by his nobles and officers and they carried out his orders loyally. He was so just that he listened to the petitions of the poor himself and tried to give redress. But he was a religious bigot and like Sultan Firuz was intolerant towards the Hindus. Many Hindu temples were destroyed and were replaced by mosques by his orders.

Ibrahim
Lodi

After his death in 1517 Sultan Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. But some of the selfish nobles suggested a partition of the empire and placed Ibrahim's younger brother Jalal upon the throne of Jaunpur. Their efforts were foiled by Ibrahim's daring action and Jalal was defeated. He fled but he was captured and assassinated by the Sultan's orders. The Raja of Gwalior who had given shelter to Jalal was attacked and compelled to surrender his fortress. Ibrahim had become very haughty and cruel and treated the Afghan nobles with great harshness. He made them stand motionless and speechless in his presence and threw them into prison without any fault. The Afghans like a king but detest a master and they could not bear this ill-treatment. Darya Khan, one of the leading noblemen, declared his independence in Bihar and Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of the Punjab, fearing Ibrahim's tyranny invited Babar, the ruler of Kabul, to invade Hindustan. The Sultan's uncle Alam Khan also went to Kabul and asked for aid against his nephew. A proposal like this was welcome to Babar. He set out from Kabul with his army against the Sultan of Delhi. In the famous battle of Panipat (1526 A.D.) Ibrahim Lodi was defeated, and the empire of Delhi passed into the hands of the Mughal conqueror.

Fall of the
Lodis.

The Lodis possessed neither the political ability nor the undaunted military vigour of the Turke. They were weak

rulers who were always hampered by their nobles. The empire was divided into a large number of fiefs and the simplicity of Bahlol had led the fief-holders to disregard the power of the Crown. They fretted and chafed against the restraint imposed upon them by the central power. Bahlol's cruelty and arrogance heightened their resentment and they began to plot against him. The protests of the nobles availed nothing to induce Ibrahim to change his methods. He enforced his authority with vigour, checked the accounts, and confiscated the property of those whom he suspected of hostility. Disloyalty spread throughout the land and the fall of the empire became certain.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Khizer Khan seized the throne of Delhi ...	1411
Bahlol Lodi usurped the kingdom of Delhi ...	1413
Foundation of Agra ...	1504
Sikandar's accession to the throne ...	1517
The first battle of Panipat ...	1525

CHAPTER XXI

CIVILISATION AND CULTURE IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES (1200—1500 A.D.)

Administration.

The king of Delhi was a military autocrat with unlimited powers. The only check on his authority, which most of the kings disregarded in practice, was that of the *Shariyat* or the Quranic law. Some of them paid homage to the Khalifa but for all practical purposes they acted as independent sovereigns. There was no law of succession among the Turks and a capable slave was sometimes elected to the throne. Some rulers had such a high sense of public duty that they set aside the claims of their own sons. Iltutmish left a will nominating his daughter Reziya to the exclusion of his sons who were utterly unfit to govern the kingdom. There was a class of men in the state called the '*Ulama*' (men learned in the law) who advised the king on important matters. Some kings accepted their advice, others like Alauddin and Muhammad Tughluq did not. They did what they considered best in the interests of the state. Sometimes the '*Ulama*' served as a check upon bad or wicked rulers. But on the whole their influence was far from salutary. They were opposed to toleration and progressive measures. They acquired much power under Firuz and Sikandar with the result that the position of the Crown was greatly weakened by their policy of intolerance and injustice.

There was no hard and fast line between the civil and military departments. The same person held both civil and military offices. The king was assisted by a number of officers, the chief of which were the Wazir (Prime Minister), the Naib (the Viceroy), the Sadr (Chief Judge), the Atish-i-Mamalik (Commander-in-Chief), the Kotwal, the Amir Atish-i-Mamalik (Lord of the Stables), the Amir Koh (Superintendent of

Agriculture) and Dabir (Secretary). Besides these there were others who discharged important duties. The officers were graded into several classes and were paid sometimes by salaries, sometimes by *jagirs* and sometimes by assignments of land revenue. In the revenue department the officers were mostly Hindus. The work of collection in the country was carried on by Khuts, Chowdhris and Muqaddams who held a quasi-official position in the state and who were paid for their work according to a fixed rate. The market had its officers and the chief of them the *Shahna-i-Mandi* (Superintendent of the Market) kept a watch on the transactions of merchants and shopkeepers. The state claimed to improve the moral of the people and the duty of the *Muhatsibs* (Censors of Morals) was to look after their conduct. The state owned a number of *Kârkhânās* or workshops which had their own officers. Similarly there were officers for dealing with charities, public buildings and presents, etc.

The service of the state was the highest distinction for ambitious men. But there was little stability or security of tenure. It was the Sultan's word that could raise a man to the highest position or degrade him to the lowest. Changes were frequent and capricious. When a new king succeeded to the throne, he generally dismissed the officers of the previous regime and appointed his own supporters in their places. Foreigners were employed in the service of the state but they often rebelled against the authority of the Sultan and created disorder in the country.

The empire was divided into provinces held by an Amir of the Sultan who was called the *Naiib* or Viceroy. He remitted to the central treasury the revenue of his fief after paying the cost of the administration. Sometimes provinces were farmed to the highest bidders. There was no uniform system of land revenue and no fixed assessment. There were many taxes besides the land revenue. The *Jaziya* was levied

upon the Hindus. The interests of the cultivators were well looked after, and though exactions were frequent, the state was ever ready to punish those who oppressed them. The village Panchayats still existed and managed their affairs.

The Sultan had a strong army which was swelled in times of war by the troops supplied by the *feud*-holders and Hindu chiefs who owned his suzerainty. The *Ariz-i-Mamālik* was the highest officer of the army. Horses were branded and musters were regularly held. The elephants, horses and infantry were the main branches of the army. The frontier outposts were entrusted to tried military leaders, and forts were erected to ward off the attacks of the Mughals. The commanders of the army were also civil officers. When they were not the Sultan's own kith and kin, they were not bound to him by any other tie except that of the salt which they ate.

There was no systematic code of laws. In civil matters the Hindus and Muslims followed their respective laws. But offences against the criminal law were dealt with by the officers of the state. The penal law was severe and torture was practised, although the social conscience revolted against it as is shown by Firuz's attempt to abolish it. Justice was administered by the Qazi who followed a simple procedure. He was assisted by the *Mirdād* when a powerful noble was tried for some offence. The king was the highest court of appeal and the decisions of the Qazi were upset by him when there was sufficient ground to do so.

The Muslim Amirs and nobles were in possession of large incomes and led luxurious lives. Wine-drinking and gambling were common vices, and sometimes drastic measures were adopted to stop them. Slavery existed. The king and nobles had their slaves, some of whom received education and rose to high positions in the state. There was enormous wealth in the country as is shown by the vast treasures brought by Alauddin from the Deccan and the large quantities of gold.

and Badr-i-Chāch are well known. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslims were careful writers of history. The most famous historians of the age are Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Zia Barani and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Aṣif. Theology, astrology and the science of healing were studied by many people and books were written on them. Several books were translated from Sanskrit into Persian. Sikandar Lodi caused a Sanskrit work on medicine to be translated into Persian and called it *Tibb-i-Sikandarī*. Firuz built a large college at Delhi which contained residential quarters for teachers and students.

Sanskrit learning flourished in Mithila (modern Tirhut). Several scholars devoted themselves to the study of Maithilī. Vidyapati was a famous poet who wrote beautiful verses in his native tongue Maithilī which are still read with great interest. In the South, the kings of Vijayanagar gave a great impetus to the cause of Sanskrit learning and several important works were written.

In Northern India a new literature in Hindi was developed. Chandabardai, the court poet of Prithvi Rāj, is the earliest Hindi poet who recounted in verse the heroic deeds of his patron. Amir Khusrau also composed some verses in Hindi which are still extant. Gorakhnath, Ramanand, Kabir, Nanak and other saints also composed songs in the language of the people which were committed to writing by their disciples.

The language of the people received encouragement from Muslim rulers in the provincial kingdoms. The kings of Bengal, Gujarat and Jaunpur helped the growth of literature. The famous centres of learning were Delhi, Agra, Jaunpur, Badāon and Bider and some of them were quite as well known as Bokhara and Samarkand in the west.

The Sultans of Delhi were great builders. They had their own ideas about architecture. But as they had to

the beginning and had to employ Hindu architects and craftsmen, a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim styles took place, and a new kind of art developed which is called the Indo-Muslim art.

The principal monuments erected during the reign of Qutbuddin and Iltutmish are the mosque at Ajmer and the Quthi mosque and minar at Delhi. The Quth minar which is nearly 212 feet high was begun by Qutbuddin and finished by Iltutmish. Alauddin was a warlike king but he also found time to build forts, tanks and palaces. The 'Alai Darwāzā built in 1311 is a fine example of the architecture of this period. After his death, the style changed and the buildings of the Tughluqs became massive and simple. More attention was paid to solidity than to elegance of design. The buildings of this type are the fort of Tughluqabad and the tomb of Tughluq-bahā at Delhi. Firuz was a great builder. He built a large number of palaces, mosques, tanks and founded cities.

The provincial dynasties developed their own styles of architecture. An account of their buildings has been given in a previous chapter.

After the conquest of Delhi towards the close of the twelfth century Islam made rapid progress in the country. The chief causes of its success were (1) its simplicity, absence of ritual and emphasis on one God who alone is worthy of adoration; (2) the tyranny of the caste system among the Hindus which must have led some people to change their faith; (3) the support of the political power; (4) the temptation of office and position in the state. Besides these there was another factor which greatly helped the onward march of Islam. Islam like Hinduism and Buddhism had its saints who lived like ascetics. They were Sufis or mystics who by their piety attracted the devotion of both Hindus and Muslims. They carried on their missionary work in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with great vigour in many parts of the

The
progress
of Islam

country. The most famous of them were Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, Fariduddin of Pākpatan, Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, Nāsiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi and Ghisudarāz in the Deccan who preached their doctrine of love and devotion to God among the people and removed the prejudice against Islam. They founded orders and trained disciples who carried on their work after their death. Some of them were poets like Fariduddin Attar and Amir Khusrau who raised the glory of Islam by their literary productions. There were many theologians, jurists and canonists who by their learning and social position won the respect of the people.

Impact of Religions.

For a long time the Hindus and Muslims remained hostile to each other but gradually as time passed they realised that it was impossible for either of them to crush his rival out of existence. The new converts to Islam did not wholly give up their Hindu ways and habits. The Muslim faqirs had Hindu disciples and Hindu jogis had Muslim devotees—a fact which served as a fresh bond of friendship between the two faiths. Before the holy man whom they venerated both Hindus and Muslims learnt to love each other and forgot their quarrels. Hinduism was also modified by its contact with Islam and the influence of the latter is manifest in the Bhakti movement especially in the teachings of Ramanand, Kabir and Nanak.

The Bhakti Cult.

The Bhakti movement was not a new thing. It had its origin in the doctrines of the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagvadgita*. The great South-Indian-reformer Ramanuja had preached the doctrine of love and devotion to Brahma or Īsvara in the twelfth century. He was followed by a number of saints who declared that a man can realise God irrespective of caste and creed by means of devotion and love. They laid emphasis on the oneness of God and taught that all religions were but roads leading to the same goal.

The greatest preachers of this cult in Northern India were Ramanand, Kabir and Nanak who taught their doctrines in the language of the people. They declared that caste was useless and could be no bar to salvation. Kabir and Nanak condemned idolatry, ritual and the pride and pretensions of priests. There was no distinction between a Hindu and a Moslem and Allah, Rama and Kvara were identical terms. Fasts, pilgrimages, bathing in rivers and worship of idols were of no help in procuring *multi* (salvation).

Similar doctrines were preached by Nāmadeva and Ekanath in Maharashtra, by Mirabai in Rajputana and by reformers like Bāsava, Vāmana and others in the South.

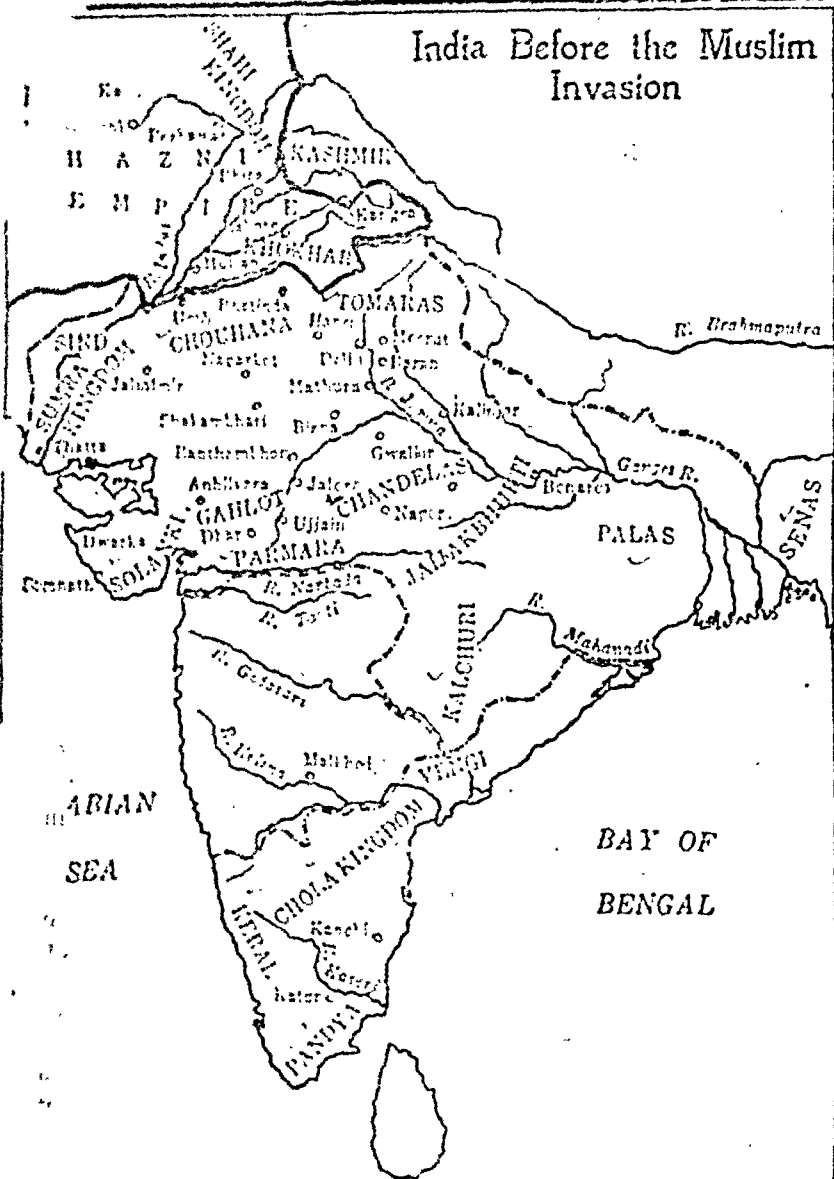
A notable contribution to the cult of Bhakti was made by the great reformer Chaitanya in Bengal. Born of Brahmana parents, a man profoundly learned in the sacred lore, he discarded the rigid rules of caste and laid stress on universal love and the brotherhood of man. To him a Chandala was as dear as a Brahmana. He preached devotion to Kṛṣṇa and suggested love as the greatest rule of life.

The message of love and the brotherhood of man preached by these saints reached every nook and corner of India and made men give up their hatreds and prejudices. Thus was the way prepared for a better and truer understanding between Hinduism and Islam.



Chaitanya.

11 11
 11 11
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Her kings and warriors felt no scruples in inviting a foreigner to invade her fair plains and to overthrow the unpopular government that existed in the country.

With the fall of the Lodis the old type of monarchy, partly religious, partly feudal, ceased to exist. The Turks wrongly called Mughals, who followed them, brought into the country a new theory of kingship which made the king a symbol of political power and unity. He was no longer a figurehead placed amidst hostile factions and parties unable to assert his authority or impose his will upon his barons. He was a *padishah* in the real sense of the term and his position was unique in the state. The new spirit created by the religious reformers had brought about a change in political methods and ways of worship. Men grew tolerant of each other and the rulers, conscious of the strength of the fighting elements in the country and the danger of religious uniformity, developed a reasonable outlook and accepted the principle of toleration. The culture and refinement which prevailed at the courts of Western Timurids showed its influence in India and some of the emperors became not merely great conquerors but the promoters of a new culture in our country. They established institutions for the public good, encouraged non-Muslim talent and devised measures to increase the happiness and well-being of the people.

The New Monarchy.

The founder of this new monarchy was Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar who was born on Friday the 21st February, 1483 A.D. He was related to Timur in the fifth degree on his father's side and traced his descent from the great Mughal conqueror Chingiz Khan through his mother. His father was the chief of a small principality called *Barghand* in Turkistan. When his father died, he was only eleven years of age. The throne which he inherited from his father was surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies, the chief of whom was the Uzbek leader Shailani Khan.

Early Life of Babar.

who had swept away many Timurid princes from their thrones. The young Babar resolved to conquer from the Uzbeks, Samargand, the capital of his great ancestor Timur. He conquered it twice but only to lose it again. Being defeated by his enemies, Babar left his native country in deep disappointment and became a homeless wanderer. At last fortune set his foot on the road to Kabul which he conquered in 1504 and became the master of a small principality.

The Indian
Conquest.

Having secured his position at Kabul, Babar made one more attempt to conquer Samargand in 1510. He succeeded but he was again ousted by the Uzbeks, to whom the Timurids could offer but poor resistance. Foiled in his attempts in the west, he now resolved to extend his frontiers in the east. At this time the empire of Delhi was governed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who had alienated the sympathies of his nobles by his insolent manners and harsh treatment. Daulat Khan Lodi, the Afghan governor of the Punjab, and Alauddin Alam Khan, Ibrahim's uncle, informed Babar of what was passing in Hindustan and sought his aid against the ruler of Delhi. Babar, who was eagerly watching the turn of events in India, welcomed the proposal and in the winter of 1525 set out at the head of 12,000 men to invade Hindustan. His first encounter was with Daulat Khan who had turned against him. His troops were defeated and Babar captured Lahore. He now marched towards Delhi and received messages of assurance and goodwill from some of the nobles at the Court of Delhi. Ibrahim who did not lack intrepidity and courage, gathered an army of about a hundred thousand men and advanced to check the progress of the invader. A fierce battle was fought on the plains of Panipat in 1526 and, though the imperial army fought with great courage, it was defeated. Ibrahim himself fell among the slain. Though Babar's force was greatly inferior to the Delhi army, his success in this battle was due to his fine

artillery and generalship. The Turkish engineers rained fire on the Afghan ranks and caused deadly destruction. Delhi and Agra passed into Babar's hands and he acquired a vast amount of treasure. Several Afghan nobles and chiefs of the Deccan offered their submission.

Though master of Delhi and Agra, Babar was not yet ^{Babar and} master of Hindustan. He had to fight against the Rajputs, ^{Rana Sanga} the most powerful of whom was Rana Sanga of Mewar. He was a brave warrior who had lost an eye, a hand, and a leg, and his body contained many a scar of the wounds he had suffered in battle. He had a large army and had secured the aid of many Rajput and Afghan chiefs. He had waged successful wars against the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat and had inflicted defeats even upon the emperor of Delhi. Babar writes in his Memoirs that when he was at Kabul he had received a message from Rana Sanga that the latter would assist him, if he invaded the kingdom of Delhi. He received no help from the Rana and had to fight against Ibrahim single-handed. Probably the Rana kept back thinking that after defeating Sultan Ibrahim, Babar would go back to Kabul, leaving him free to carry out his ambitious scheme of Indian conquest. But the events took a different course and when Babar seated himself finally upon the throne of Delhi against the expectations of the Rana, the latter had no option but to fight against him. At the head of a large army consisting of Rajputs and Afghans the Rana marched towards Agra and encamped in the open plain near Sikri. The spirits of Babar and his men sank as they saw before them the formidable Rajput host ready for battle. As an act of abstinence Babar swore on the Quran to give up wine-drinking and broke his costly vessels. Calling his chiefs and men together he told them that it was better to die with honour than to live with disgrace and appealed to them to stay and fight to the end. These words produced the effect

desired, and the chiefs and men all swore by the Holy Book to stand by him come what might.

The two armies fought a fierce battle at Khanua, a village ten miles from Sikri (1527), but the Rajputs were defeated with a heavy slaughter. Rana Sanga was wounded and was carried off the field of battle by his men. The tactics which Babar employed in this battle were the same as those at Panipat.

The victory of Khanua made Babar supreme master of Hindustan. He had no fear of the Rajputs for their confederacy was shattered beyond recovery. His throne became more secure and he began to take a greater interest in the affairs of Hindustan. Kabul and not Delhi became the real centre of his political activities.

To complete his conquest of the Rajputs Babar proceeded against the fort of Chanderi which he captured by a storm. Then he marched against the Lodi Afghans who had established themselves in the east after the fall of their empire. He defeated them in the famous battle of Ghagra (1529) and dashed their hopes to the ground.

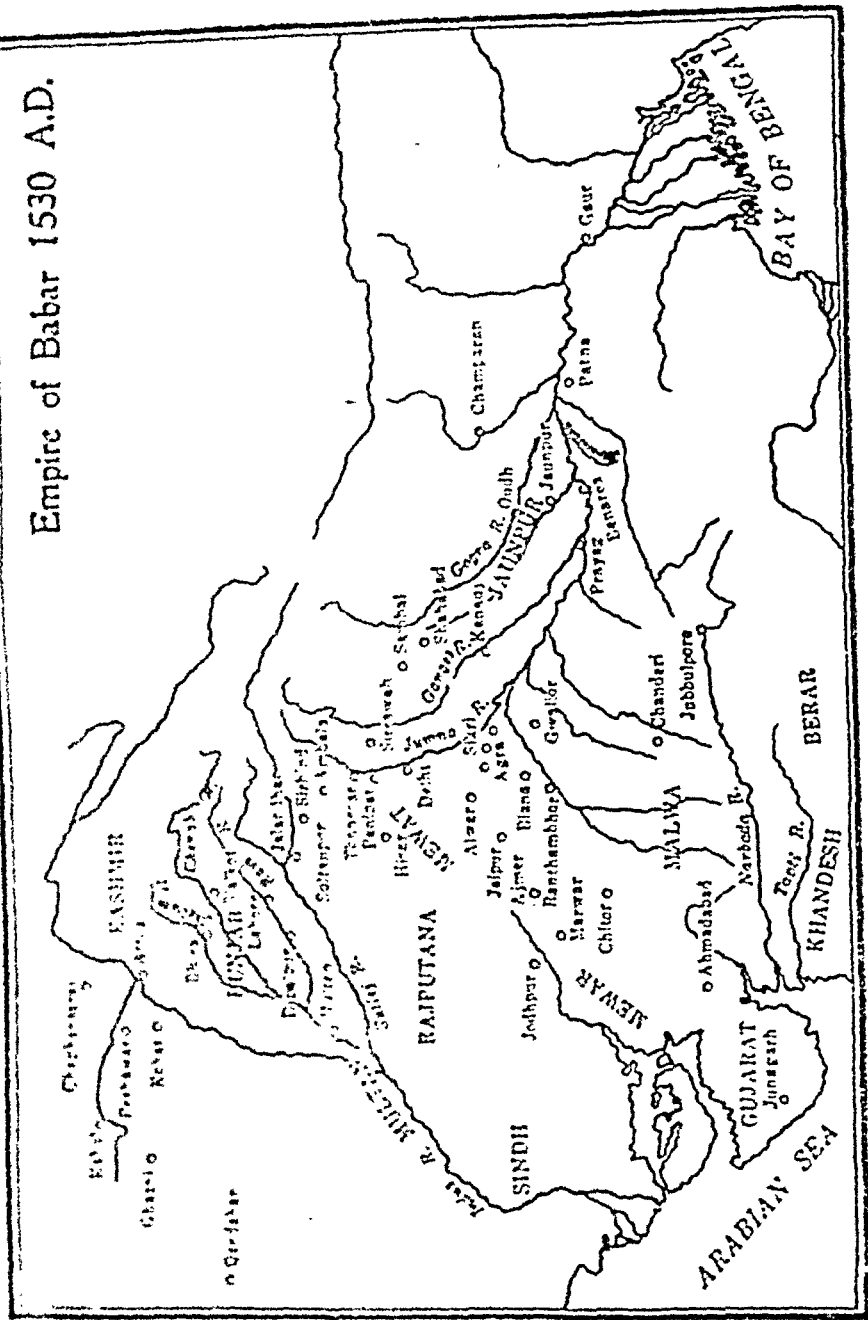
His death.

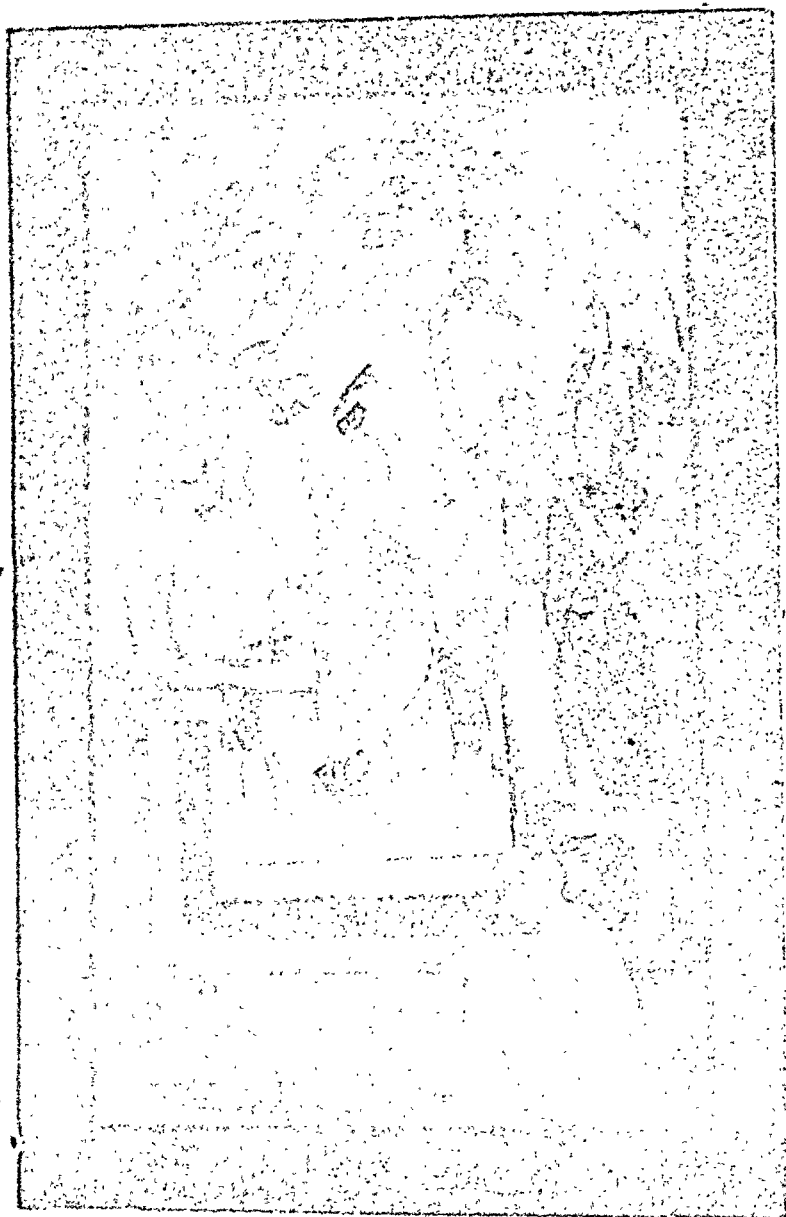
Babar had lived a life of toil and exertion. His health steadily declined in the later years of his life. The illness of his son Humayun brought on a crisis and he died at Agra in 1530. His body was conveyed to Kabul according to his wish and was buried there in a tomb.

Personality.

Babar is one of the most attractive figures in the whole range of mediæval history. He was a man of great courage and physical strength. With one man under each arm he could run along the rampart without the least difficulty or risk. He swam through every river that he crossed in India and could go on horseback eighty miles a day. He was fond of hunting and was a skilful swordsman and archer. Although a great general, he had a tender heart and never allowed his soldiers to indulge in plunder and cruelty. He treated his

Empire of Babar 1530 A.D.





Emperor Babar dictating his Memoirs to a Scribe.

kinsmen with affection and kindness. He was frank and jovial and never broke his word even with his enemies. In religion he was a strict Sunni but he had a liberal outlook. He drank wine but never neglected his business. He was fond of music and took great delight in festive gatherings and pleasure parties.

Besides these qualities what distinguishes Babar from the other princes of his time is his love of letters. He was a poet who composed odes and quatrains which are still read with delight. He was fond of nature and the sight of a stream or a mountain spring made him burst into poetry. His mastery over prose was equally great. He could write with ease in Turki and Persian and criticise the compositions of others like a true literary connoisseur. The most important prose work of Babar is his well-known autobiography, the *Babarnamah*, in Turki, which describes the story of his life with great truth and candour and entitles him to be ranked among the most accomplished princes of any age or country.

Humayun's
early
difficulties.

After Babar's death his eldest son Nasiruddin Humayun succeeded to the throne at Agra in 1530 A.D. He was only 23 years of age. Babar had three other sons Kamran, Askari and Hindāl and had charged Humayun on his death-bed to treat his brothers kindly. He acted according to his father's dying wish but the princes never ceased to give him trouble. After the fashion of the Timurids the empire was divided into four parts; the bulk of it passed into the hands of Humayun; Kabul and Qandhar fell to the share of Kamran; Sambhal was given to Askari and Alwar and Mewat were assigned to Hindāl.

The new emperor's difficulties were both internal and external. His father had conquered a large dominion but had found no time to consolidate it. The country teemed with Rajas and chiefs who had not yet become reconciled to

his rule. The royal house was divided against itself. The emperor's brothers wished to deprive him of the suzerainty of Hindustan and formed plots to accomplish their designs. The most disloyal was Kamran who had promptly seized the Punjab and set up as an independent king. The loyalty of the Mughal army could not be depended upon for the soldiers were drawn from various nationalities. There was no common bond to unite the Turks, Uzbeks, Mughals and Persians. The dangers which threatened the empire from outside were more serious still. The Afghans, though crushed by Babar for the moment, had established themselves in Bengal and Bihar and were making preparations to revive their lost glories. Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat, was a young and ambitious prince who cherished in his heart the desire to seize the kingdom of Delhi.

Humayun proceeded to deal with the Afghans first. He marched into Bihar and defeated Mahmud Lodi, the Afghan pretender, near Lucknow in 1531. Mahmud was killed in battle and the leadership of the Afghans passed into the hands of Sher Khan, who cherished the dream of driving the Mughals out of India. Humayun marched against him but returned on receiving his submission. The chief cause of this retreat was the danger from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat who had given shelter to the Lodi refugees and some of his disaffected generals. Humayun marched into Gujarat, defeated Bahadur and occupied the country. But his triumph was short-lived. No sooner was his back turned than Bahadur came back and recovered the whole of Gujarat. Malwa was also lost to the Mughals.

Sher Khan's original name was Farid. His father Hasan was a jagirdar of Sahasram in the Shahabad district. Being ill-treated by his step-mother, he left his home and went to Jaunpur where he studied Arabic and Persian with great zeal and earnestness. After some time he returned to his father

Struggle
between
Humayun
and Sher
Shah.

who, being impressed by his great abilities, entrusted to him the management of his jagir. Farid acquitted himself well; he introduced a new settlement, put down the unruly Zamindars and devised measures to improve the condition of the peasantry. Despite the good work done by him he had to go into exile again owing to the intrigues of his step-mother, and this time he found service with the governor of Behar. It was here that he won the title of Sher Khan by slaying a tiger. Gradually he made himself master of the whole of Behar and led an expedition to Bengal (1535) with a view to conquer that country. But the Afghan king bought him off by a bribe and made him retire from beneath the walls of Gaur. Sher Khan strengthened himself by capturing the fort of Rohtas.

Alarmed by the rising power of Sher Khan, Humayun marched into Behar and seized the fortress of Chunar. Finding the emperor too strong for an open contest, Sher Khan allowed him to proceed to Gaur which was captured by the imperialists. Humayun's habitual indolence made him inactive and he busied himself in pleasure for an unduly long time. In the meantime his communications were cut off by Sher Khan. When the emperor returned to Behar, he was defeated at Chausa on the bank of the Ganges by the Afghans under Sher Khan (1539). He plunged into the stream and was saved with difficulty by a water-carrier. Sher Khan became the ruler of Bengal and Behar and assumed the title of Sher Shah.

Humayun reached Agra and began to make preparations to deal with the Afghans. Sher Shah had advanced up to Kanauj and was encamped on the bank of the Ganges. Humayun also led his forces in the same direction and a fierce battle was fought (May, 1540) in which the Mughals were completely defeated. The emperor fled for life and Sher Shah became master of the territories of Delhi and Agra.

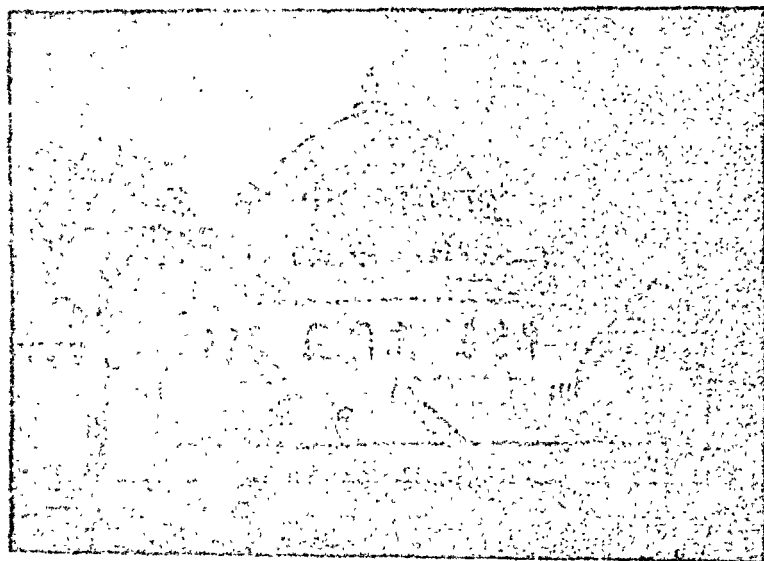
officers, the Shiqdar (revenue officer) and the Amin assisted by a treasurer and two clerks, one of whom wrote in Hindi and the other in Persian. The land was surveyed and measurement was the basis of assessment throughout his dominions except in the district of Multan where the local officer was asked to take custom into account. The share of the state was fixed at one-third of the produce. It appears the peasants could pay either in cash or kind. Assignments of land revenue were still granted and there is nothing to show that any change was made in the conditions of tenure. It was this system which was afterwards adopted by Raja Todarmal and introduced throughout Akbar's empire. The civil and military departments of the state worked hand in hand. The nobles were asked to furnish the exact number of troops required of them and to maintain them in a state of efficiency. The horses of the troopers were branded as in Ala-ud-din's time to avoid fraud and without brand no grant was made. The standing army consisted of 150,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry. The king himself recruited soldiers and fixed their allowances after personal inspection.

The judicial system was well organised. Peace and order were maintained by fixing local responsibility. The muqaddam or village headman was responsible for the crime in his village and if he failed to trace the offender he was liable to make good the loss. Intelligent spies were also appointed who kept the emperor informed of all that happened in the empire. Life and prosperity became safe and a traveller could stop even in a desert without any fear or anxiety.

The old roads were repaired and new ones built for the rapid movement of troops from one part of the country to another. One road now called the *Grand Trunk Road* ran from the Punjab to Sonargaon near Dacca, a second from Agra to Burhanpur, a third from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor,

and a fourth from Lahore to Multan to safeguard the frontier. Trees were planted on both sides of these roads and sarais were built where arrangements for food and drink were made both for Hindus and Muslims. The highways had a great effect on trade. Customs duties were levied only at two places and all other vexatious tolls were abolished. Trade flourished and the country became prosperous.

Sher Shah was a patron of learning. He opened schools and colleges and made grants both to Hindus and Muslims for educational purposes.



Tomb of Sher Shah.

There is nothing that is entirely new in these regulations. But the minute care with which Sher Shah enforced them ensured their success. The local and central authorities worked well and displayed great energy and vigour. Sher

Shah died before his work was completed but his principles were adopted by Akbar with excellent results. If he had lived longer, perhaps the Mughals would have never come back to India again.

Character.

Sher Shah is one of the most enlightened rulers of Indian history. Royalty was in his eyes a thing not for pleasure but for hard work. He cared for the welfare of his subjects and strove hard to promote it. He was a staunch Muslim but not a fanatic. He treated the Hindus well and granted them religious toleration. They were admitted to the service of the state and were allowed to engage in worship according to the tenets of their faith. He was regular in his daily routine of work. He rose early in the morning before sunrise and after bath and prayer attended to the business of the state throughout the day except for a brief interval when he retired to take his meals. He was a lover of justice and dealt severely with those who were found guilty of corruption. He was generous to the poor and the destitute and food was daily distributed at all hours from the royal kitchen to those who were in need of it. The interests of the peasant were jealously guarded and anyone who damaged the crops was visited with a drastic punishment.

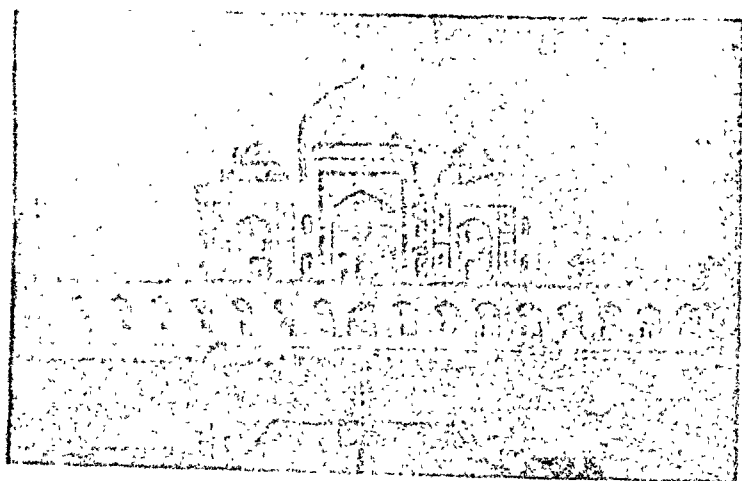
Successors
of Sher
Shah.

After Sher Shah's death his younger son Jalal was raised to the throne under the title of Salim Shah. He was a man of violent temper who wished to establish a strong government. He determined to put down the nobles with a high hand and deprived them of their privileges. He reduced their fighting strength, employed spies and stationed troops in various places to see that his code of justice was properly executed. Though the nobles were suppressed, the feeling of national unity which his father had fostered among the Afghans was broken up. After his death Salim was succeeded by his son Firuz, a boy of twelve, who was killed by his

maternal uncle Muharak Khan who usurped the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah Adil in 1554. Adil was a pleasure-seeker who left the affairs of the state to be managed by his Hindu minister, Hemu, a man of great ability and force of character. Revolts broke out on all sides and several claimants appeared to contest the throne. Ibrahim seized Delhi and Agra but was ousted by Sikandar Sur who acquired the whole country between the Indus and the Ganges. Adil retired to Chunar and began to reside there. Such was the condition of the Afghan empire at the time of Humayun's return.

After his defeat by Sher Shah Humayun had fled to Persia. The Shah received him well and lent him a force

Restoration.



Tomb of Humayun.

of 4,000 men with the help of which he defeated Kamran and recovered Kabul and Qandhar. Master of the Afghan country, he now thought of the reconquest of Hindustan. The dissensions of the Afghans had greatly undermined their

power and they could ill afford to resist an invader from outside. Humayun seized Lahore and advanced towards Delhi. In June, 1555, the forces of Sikandar Sur were routed at Sarhind and a few days later Humayun entered Delhi in triumph after an absence of 15 years.

But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his hard-earned victory and died in January, 1556, of the injuries received in falling down from the stairs of the roof of his library.

Character.

Humayun was generous and kind-hearted by nature. He was well-disposed towards his kinsmen and never sought revenge even when he was cruelly wronged. He was physically brave but his indolence and love of pleasure marred all his enterprises. He was lacking in strength of will. Before he could accomplish the task in hand, he turned to another and failed to manage either. He was not a general like his father and his campaigns are a proof of his incapacity to deal effectively with his enemies. He was an accomplished scholar; he wrote verses and was proficient in mathematics and astronomy. But the noblest trait of his character was his cheerfulness of temper in the most adverse circumstances and his gratitude towards those who served him in time of need.

Chronological Summary

				A.D.
Birth of Babar	...	...	...	1483
Babar's conquest of Kabul	...	...	...	1504
Conquest of Samargand	...	...	...	1510
Battle of Panipat	...	...	...	1526
Battle of Khanua	...	...	...	1527

	A.D.
Battle of the Ghaggra ...	1529
Death of Babar ...	1530
Humayun defeated Mahmud Lodi ...	1531
Battle of Chausa ...	1539
Battle of the Ganges ...	1540
Birth of Akbar ...	1542
Death of Sher Shah ...	1545
Sikandar Sur defeated by Humayun at Sirhind ...	1555
Death of Humayun ...	1556

CHAPTER XXIII

A GLORIOUS EPOCH

Akbar the Great

(1556—1605 A.D.)

Akbar's
early
difficulties.

Humayun was succeeded by his son Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar in 1556 A.D. He was only a boy, thirteen years of age, when his father's death placed him in charge of a large dominion. The political condition of India was far from satisfactory. There were powerful and independent states both in the North and South. Humayun had recovered only a portion of his dominions and that too was not fully secure. Kabul was held by his half-brother Mirza Hakim who ruled as an independent king. Sikandar Sur was threatening the Punjab and Hemu, the Minister of Adil, was trying hard to thwart Akbar's succession.

The Sur Afghans were the first to engage Akbar's attention. Hemu, in the hope of reviving the Afghan empire, marched at the head of a large force and occupied Agra. From there he proceeded to Delhi which he soon captured after defeating the Mughal general. Akbar was advised by some to betake himself to Kabul but his tutor Bairam Khan, a Shia nobleman, who acted as regent, insisted on having a trial of strength with Hemu. Both sides met on the fateful field of Panipat in 1556 where the Afghans were defeated. Hemu was captured and beheaded by Bairam Khan and Akbar occupied Delhi and Agra.

Bairam Khan now became the most powerful man in the empire. As the emperor was a minor, he was the real ruler of the kingdom. He ill-treated the nobles, favoured the

Shir, and on the slightest suspicion of disloyalty caused men to be put to death. A party was formed at court against him and Akbar was informed of the unhappy state of affairs. With unusual promptness the young emperor took decision, went to Delhi and announced that he had taken the reins of government in his hands. Bairam, on seeing that resistance was useless, submitted. He was pardoned and allowed to go to Mecca, but when he reached Gujarat, he was murdered (1561) by an Afghan whose father had been previously put to death by his orders. Bairam's infant son Abdur Rahim was brought to court where he rose to be one of the chief nobles of the empire.

Akbar's career of conquest may be divided into three periods. The first may be said to have ended in 1576 when the conquest of the northern provinces, Rajputana and the central region was completed. The second extends over twenty years (1576—96) during which the emperor remained busy in suppressing revolts and subduing the tribes and kingdoms on the north-west frontier. The third period lasted from 1596 to 1605 which was devoted to the conquest of the Deccan.

Conquests
and the
growth
of the
empire.

Akbar was an imperialist who, like other great rulers of the world, wished to build a large empire for himself. Most of his wars were prompted by ambition and love of conquest. The fertile province of Malwa was the first to feel the force of his arms. It had become independent after the fall of the Sur Afghans and its ruler Bār Bahadur had assumed the title of Sultan. Akbar sent a strong force under Adam Khan who defeated Bār Bahadur but disgraced himself by misappropriating the spoils of war. He was replaced in command by others and it was not till 1564 that Malwa was annexed to the empire. Next came the turn of Gondwana which was governed by Rani Durgavati, famed in legend and history for her intellect, valour and administrative genius. She died

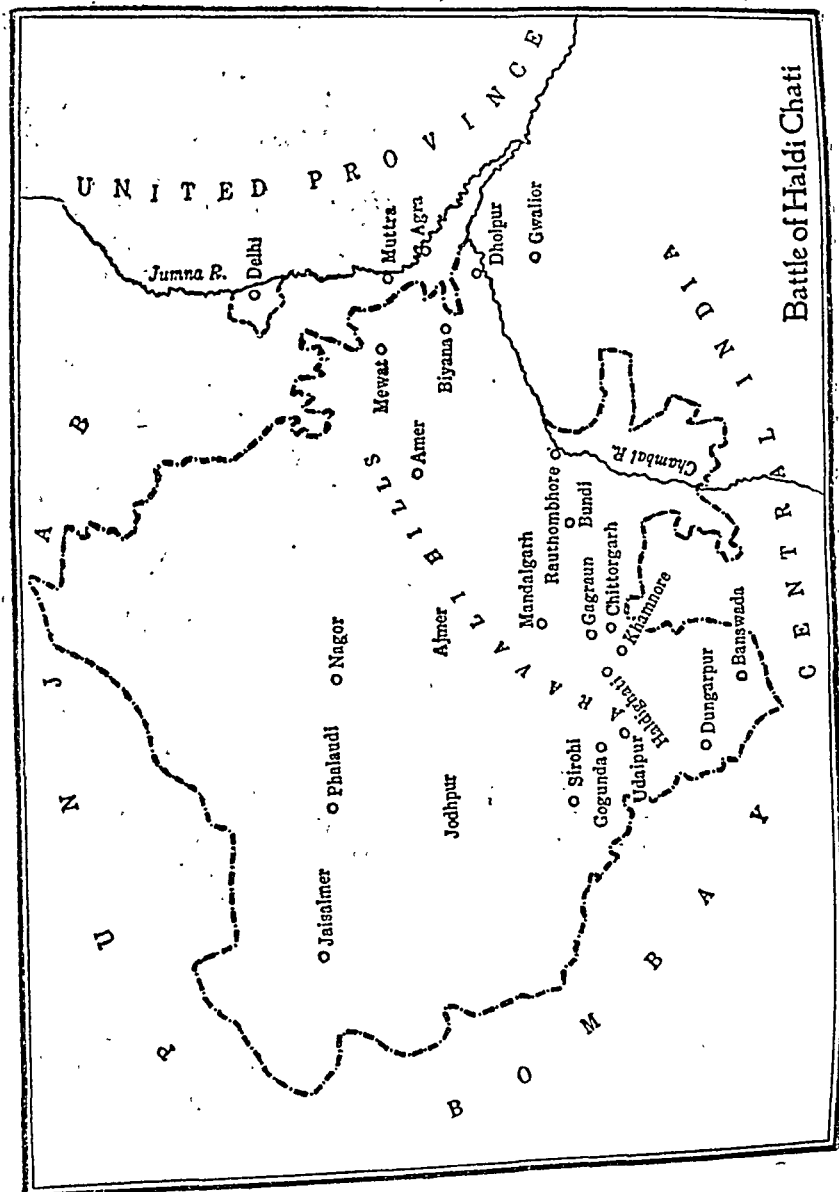
First
period.

fighting and her son followed his mother's noble example in resisting the Mughals until his death. The kingdom was entrusted to Asaf Khan and then made over to a prince who owned Akbar's suzerainty.

Early in his reign, Akbar, who aimed at the sovereignty of the whole of India, saw that his dream could not be realised without the support of the Hindus. The Rajputs were their political leaders and their conciliation was necessary for the fulfilment of his schemes. With this end in view, he readily accepted the proposal of Raja Bharmal of Amer to marry his daughter to him (1562). The Raja's family was 'honoured' and his son and grandson Bhagwandas and Man Singh were appointed to high posts in the empire. This marriage produced an important effect on the private life and public policy of the emperor. It secured to him the services of some of the ablest statesmen and generals that mediæval India has produced.

The alliance with Amer was only part of a large scheme. The Sisodia Rana of Mewar, the proudest chieftain among the Rajputs, must be subdued and the forts of Chittor and Ranthambhor captured before Akbar could claim to be the paramount lord of Hindustan. In 1567 he marched in person at the head of a large army and laid siege to the fort of Chittor. The cowardly Rana (Udaya Singh) retired into the hills, entrusting the defence of the fort to Jaimal, one of his warriors. The Rajputs fought with courage but Jaimal was killed. Then came the last encounter between the invaders and the garrison who were disheartened by the death of their leader. The rite of *Jauhar* was performed and the Rajputs rushed upon the enemy with their swords. They were killed without mercy and the fort was taken (1569).

The fall of Chittor was followed by the capture of the forts of Ranthambhor and Kalanjar. The Rajput princes of



Battle of Haldi Chati

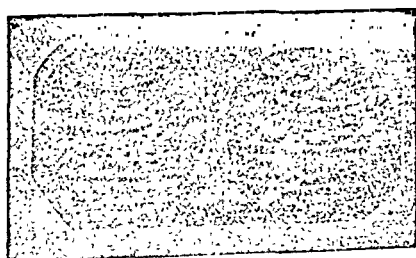
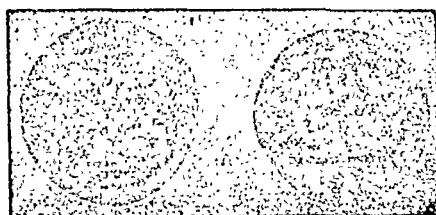
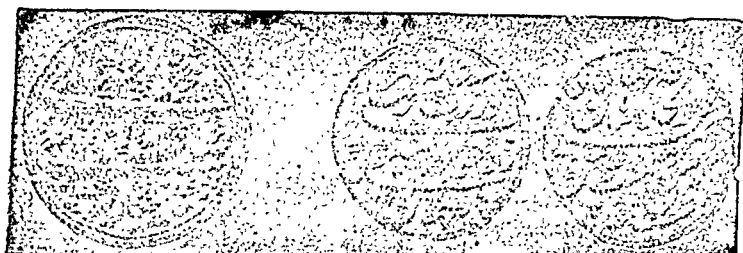
Bikanir, Jaisalmer and other states waited upon the emperor and offered their submission.

The struggle of Mewar was not yet over. Udaya Singh died in 1572 and was succeeded by his son Rana Pratap who vowed to recover Chittor and vindicate the honour of his race. He was one of the finest soldiers in Rajasthan and his spirit was fired by the gallant deeds of Ranas Kumbha and Sangar. He refused to enter into an alliance with the Mughals, and despite his meagre resources, threw down the gauntlet of war. Akbar sent Man Singh and Asaf Khan at the head of a large force in 1576 to deal with the Rana. Rana Pratap's valour proved of no avail against the combined army of Rajputs and Muslims and he was defeated in the famous battle of Haldighati. He retired into the mountains and lost one fort after another but nothing could unbend his proud spirit. Akbar would have been satisfied with a nominal submission but the Rana chose to carry on an unequal war in the pursuit of a great ideal. At last he succeeded in recovering some of his forts, though Chittor was still in the hands of the imperialists. In 1597 the Rana died leaving behind a noble example of heroic patriotism which inspires us to this day.



Gold Coins of Akbar.

Two other conquests of this period deserve to be noticed. Gujarat was once a part of the Delhi empire and its harbours yielded a large income. The intrigues of rival factions afforded sufficient justification for Akbar's intervention. In 1572 Akbar led an expedition in person, pensioned off the king,



- 4
1. Akbar. 2. Jahangir. 3. Nurjahan and Jahangir. 4. Shahjahan.
5. Aurangzeb. 6. Muhammad Shah.

and returned to Fatehpur after making arrangements for ~~the~~ government of the country. But no sooner was his back turned than trouble broke out again and his cousins the Mirzas revolted. The emperor again marched to the scene of action and the Mirzas were defeated, Gujarat was annexed to the empire and Raja Todarmal was appointed to set its finances in order. The turn of Bengal came next. After the death of his father Sulaiman (1572) Daud Khan declared his independence and seized an outpost of the empire. He was defeated at Rajmahal and was beheaded (1576). The independent kingdom of Bengal ceased to exist.

It was about this time that a spirit of revolt spread in Bihar and Bengal. The new Dewan enforced regulations which were resented by the people and ordered an enquiry into the titles and tenures of jagirdars which made them anxious. His orders were carried out by greedy officers who made illicit gains for themselves. Besides, the Musalmans were alarmed by the reports of the emperor's disregard of Islam. Thinking that he had become an apostate, they offered allegiance to Hakīm at Kabul and conspired to place him on the throne. In 1580 the Qazi of Jaunpur issued a *fatawa* (ruling) that the emperor had ceased to be a Muslim and that rebellion against his authority was lawful. It was a serious situation. But the malcontents were no match to the emperor and before long the entire revolt was crushed by the imperial troops.

Second
period.

Led by the efforts of the conspirators, Mirza Hakīm invaded the Punjab (1580) in person at the head of 15,000 horse. As the matter was urgent, the emperor took prompt action and marched in person to the gates of Kabul and compelled Hakīm to acknowledge his suzerainty. Hakīm died a natural death in 1586 and the province of Kabul was annexed to the empire.

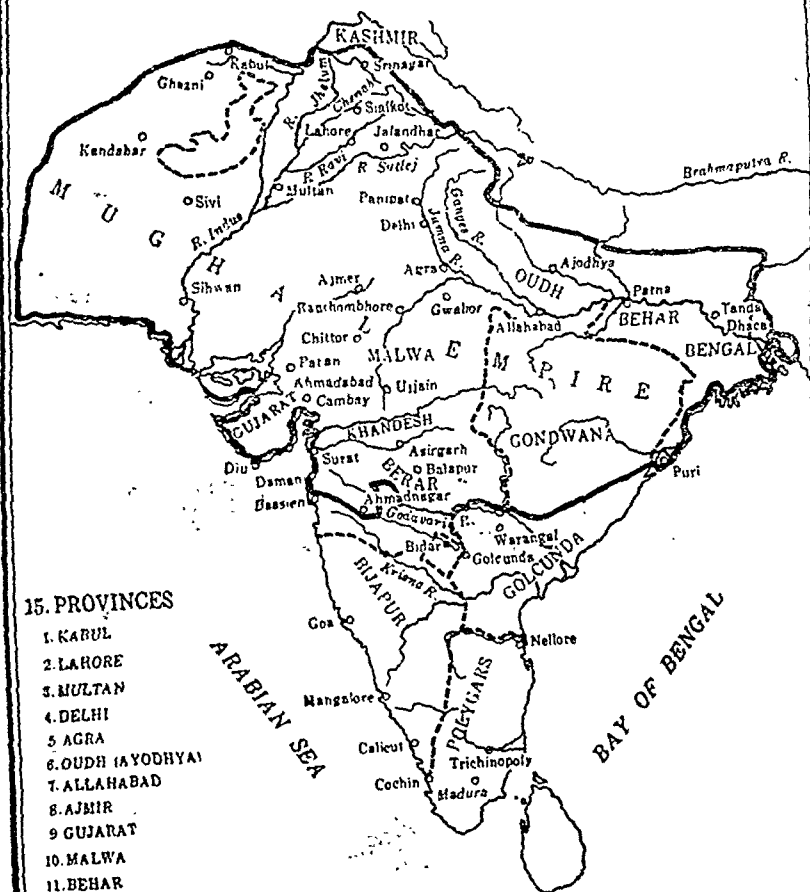
Having settled the affairs of Kabul, the emperor turned his attention seriously to the north-west frontier. Beyond the Afghan region a new power had arisen in Tūran which had become a great menace to the Mughal empire. Abdulla Uzbek had built up a large dominion for himself and his ambition and love of conquest alarmed Akbar. Besides, the Yusufzais and the Rayshaniyas (a religious sect) caused much trouble on the frontier. Raja Birbal was sent against them, and though he was killed in the encounter, the tribes were subdued. Kashmir was conquered in 1586 and shortly after Multan and Sindh were annexed to the empire in 1591. The conquest of Baluchistan and Qandhar in 1595 completed the chain of defence on the north-west frontier. The eastern frontier was likewise strengthened by the annexation of Orissa in 1592. The death of Abdulla Uzbek in 1598 removed from his path a foe whom Akbar had always dreaded. Henceforward all fear of a Central Asian invasion was at an end.

Third
period.

Having fully secured his hold over the northern country, Akbar thought of extending his sway over the Sultanates of the Deccan. He gave up for the moment the project of recovering the lands of Transoxiana which had once belonged to his ancestors. Besides mere lust of conquest there was another motive. The Portuguese had established their settlements on the sea-coast and built up a naval power which was not liked by the emperor. He thought he would be able, by bringing the states of the Deccan under his influence, to deal an effective blow to the Portuguese power in India. At first he sent diplomatic missions to these states asking them if they would acknowledge his suzerainty. When no satisfactory reply was received, he determined to use force. His task was rendered easy by the dissensions of the powers themselves.

Ahmadnagar was the first to be attacked but it was

Empire of Akbar 1605 A.D.



15. PROVINCES

1. KABUL
2. LAHORE
3. MULTAN
4. DELHI
5. AGRA
6. OUDH (AYODHYA)
7. ALLAHABAD
8. AJMER
9. GUJARAT
10. MALWA
11. BEHAR
12. BENGAL
13. KHANDESH
14. BERAR
15. AHMADNAGAR

heroically defended by Chand Bibi, a dowager-Queen of Bijapur and a sister of the Nizam Shahi king. She repulsed the Mughals and compelled Prince Murad, the imperial commander, to enter into a treaty (1596) by which Berar was ceded to the emperor. But war was renewed again. Akbar marched to the Deccan in person in 1599 and captured Burhanpur. The defence of Ahmadnagar was greatly weakened by the dissensions of rival parties and when Chand Bibi was murdered by her enemies, the imperial troops easily conquered the kingdom.

In 1601 the famous fortress of Asirgarh belonging to Khandesh was captured by bribing the officers of the garrison. The kingdom of Khandesh was annexed to the empire. The Deccan states were constituted as three Subahs, namely, Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh.

Akbar's empire now included the whole of Northern India from the Afghan regions in the north-west to Assam in the east and from Kashmir in the Himalayas to the frontiers of Bijapur and Golkunda in the south. At the time of the emperor's death the empire consisted of 15 Subahs:—

Extent of
the empire.

- (1) Kabul; (2) Lahore; (3) Multan; (4) Delhi;
- (5) Agra; (6) Oudh; (7) Ajmer; (8) Gujarat;
- (9) Malwa; (10) Allahabad; (11) Bengal;
- (12) Bihar; (13) Khandesh; (14) Berar; and
- (15) Ahmadnagar

According to a Dutch estimate these provinces yielded in 1605 a revenue amounting to 17 crores and 45 lakhs of ^{Revolt} of Salims. rupees.

Akbar had three sons of whom Murad and Daniyal had died of drink in 1599 and 1601 respectively. The eldest Salim, although a great drunkard, escaped their fate. Weary of waiting for the succession, he broke out into open rebellion, and when the emperor was engaged in the Deccan against the

fort of Asirgarh, he set up as an independent king at Allahabad. Akbar hastily returned to the North to quell the revolt. But a more cruel blow was still in store for him. In August, 1602, Salim hired Bir Singh Bundela to murder his father's trusted minister Abul Fazl when the latter was returning from the Deccan. Attempts were made by the ladies in the palace to bring about a reconciliation between father and son. Their efforts succeeded and at last Akbar was induced to pardon Salim and nominate him as heir to the throne.

In 1605 the emperor fell ill with dysentery and died a few months later indicating to his courtiers by gestures that he desired Salim to succeed to the throne. The death-bed intrigues of Raja Man Singh and others to exclude Salim in favour of his son Prince Khusrau failed, and he was acknowledged as emperor without further opposition.

Akbar was not merely a great administrator but also a social reformer. He knew that in order to build up a powerful nation it was necessary to improve the social customs and manners of the people and to unite the Hindus and Muslims. He abolished the practice of enslavement in war and issued an edict by which soldiers were not allowed to molest the wives and children of their vanquished enemies. Soon after his marriage with the princess of Amer he remitted in 1563 the pilgrim tax which brought in a large income to the state. A year later the *Jeziya* was abolished throughout the kingdom and this measure greatly pleased the Hindus. The practice of *Sati* was forbidden and a decree was issued that no woman should be burnt against her will. The emperor himself saved the life of a Rajput princess who was forced to be a *Sati* by her relatives. He forbade child-marriage and laid down rules for arranging matches. The Hindus were treated well and under the influence of his Hindu wives the emperor allowed them full freedom of

worship and himself listened to the discourses of their saints and philosophers. The Hindu wives of the emperor enjoyed the same honour and status in the palace as his Muslim wives. He adopted several Hindu customs and religious rites. One of these was the practice of weighing his person against gold, silver and other precious articles which were given away in charity. Sometimes he put a mark on his forehead after the fashion of the Hindus and paid respect to the Sun, the giver of life and sustenance to the whole world.

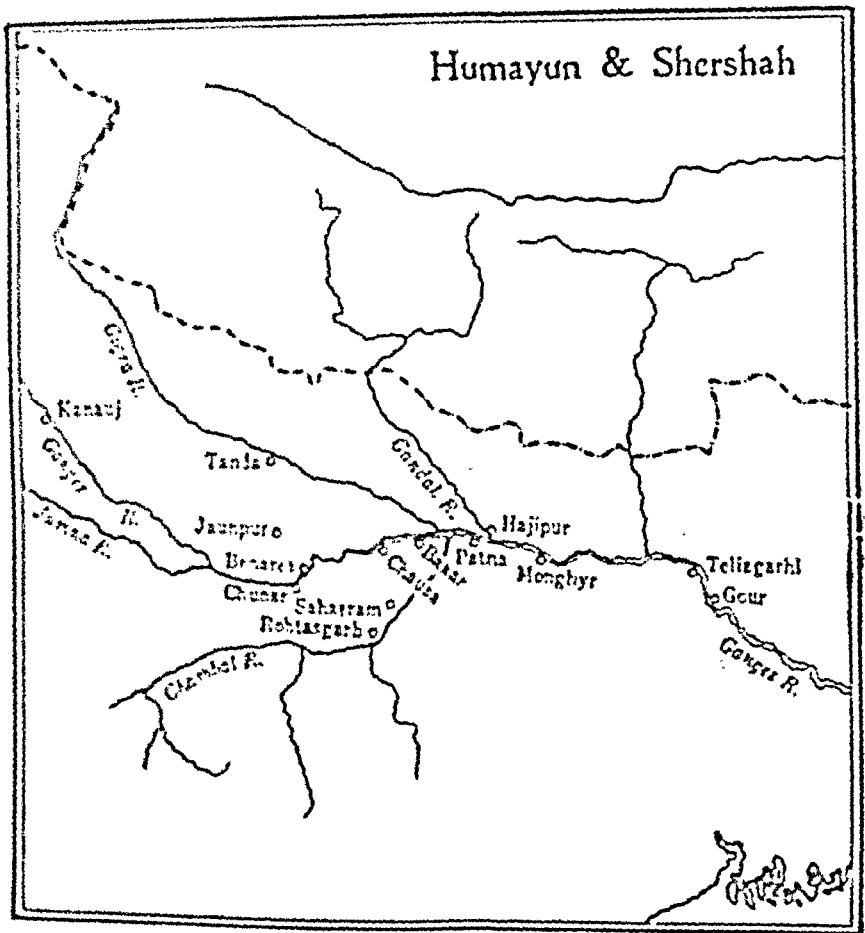
The sixteenth century was an age of enquiry and doubt in religious matters both in Europe and Asia and Akbar fully shared the spirit of the age. In Europe a movement was going on which aimed at the removal of abuses in the Christian Church and the restoration of Christianity to its original purity and simplicity. In India too the need for religious reform was felt. In the fifteenth century reformers like Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya had preached the gospel of love and devotion and tried to create a spirit of harmony among the various sects. They discarded the dogmas which had so far barred the way to true light and knowledge and taught the masses in their language that all religions led to the same goal. Akbar, who was endowed by nature with an inquisitive mind, eagerly longed to know the truth and desired to build a bridge between the various faiths. His heart was saddened to see the quarrels of mankind and from the bigotry of the priests he turned away in disgust to find the true peace and happiness. There were several influences that led him in this direction. First, his marriage with the Rajput princesses brought about a great change in his life and made him appreciate the good points of the Hindu religion. Secondly, Sufis like Sheikh Mularak and his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl, who were men of great learning, brought about a change in the emperor's ideas and opinions. Thirdly, he wanted to know the truth and end the religious quarrels which he saw all

The
Religious
Policy of
Akbar



Akbar receiving Jesuits in his palace.

Humayun & Shersshah



around him and to establish the principle of universal toleration (*Sulh-i-Kul*) and race.

This desire to know the truth led him to meet the teachers of various religions and discuss problems with them. In 1575 he built at his new capital Fatehpur the Ibadatkhana (literally, the house of worship) in which the representatives of various religions used to assemble for discussion. Here sat the leaders of the orthodox party and free-thinkers like Shaikh Mubarak and his sons who interpreted religion in a different light. Here came also Brahmanas, Jainas, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians from all parts of the country to assist the emperor in finding a solution of the problem that oppressed his soul. The Brahmanas taught him the mysteries of their religion and explained to him the doctrine of rebirth in which he felt much interested. In the same manner he tried to understand the tenets of other faiths. His goal was clear. He saw good in all religions and felt that it was the bigotry and ignorance of men that prevented them from seeing the truth. In 1579 the leading '*Ulama*' (learned men) agreed to declare him the *Imam-i-Adil*, i.e., the final interpreter of Islamic doctrines. By this decree which caused a great stir in orthodox circles the emperor became the head of religion as well as of state. Henceforward he was to be the arbiter of all disputes and his decision was binding on all, if it was not contrary to the dictates of the Quran.

In order to give a more definite shape to his ideals the emperor founded the *Din-i-Ilahi* or the Divine Faith which combined the good points of all religions. It was not a religion in the strict sense of the term but a set of beliefs to which those who accepted the emperor's way of thought had to subscribe. The members of the Divine Faith greeted each other with the words *Allah-o-Akbar* and *Jalla Jallalahu*. They were asked to abstain from meat on certain days and were not allowed to dine with men of low type. There were four

degrees of devotion to His Majesty and these consisted in the surrender of property, life, honour and religion.

Akbar did not act like a missionary. He never used force or coercion to gain disciples nor did he offer temptation of honour or reward to induce men to give up their faiths. Among the worldly minded courtiers who surrounded the emperor's throne there were few who had the same eager craving of the soul as he to understand the truth. There were only 13 members of the Din-i-Ilahi among whom Raja Birbal was the only Hindu.

It is wrong to suppose that the emperor ceased to be a Muslim. Only he was generous towards other religions—a thing that was intolerable to his contemporaries. This led them to frame against him the charge that he had given up Islam. The Din-i-Ilahi was an attempt to found an order of intellectual men who would test their beliefs by the light of reason. It was not pride or egoism that led him to do so. He was the most modest of men and if the people made a god of him, it was not his fault. His dream of making men realise the true unity that lies underneath the diverse forms of worship was a noble one, and the principle of universal goodwill and toleration which he proclaimed will ever remain the greatest monument of his genius and statesmanship.

Personality of Akbar.

Akbar is one of the greatest kings in the history of the world. His noble qualities are mentioned in contemporary accounts which are confirmed by Europeans who visited his court. His figure was impressive so that one could see at a glance that he was a king. He was five feet seven inches in height and was neither too stout nor too thin. His forehead was broad and open and his eyes so bright and flashing that they 'looked like the sea in sunshine.' His complexion was of the colour of wheat and his voice was loud and rich. He laughed heartily, cracked jokes, and enjoyed every kind of entertainment but when he was offended, his wrath was

But above all this his title to greatness rests on the policy of justice for all which he followed throughout his life. He wished to unite his subjects of all classes and creeds and tried to bring about a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures. At a time when the Christians fought among themselves in Europe because of religious differences he granted freedom of worship to all, and declared that the only way to realise the glory of God was to perceive the truth contained in all religions. It was a difficult but noble task and though the attempt failed, history will assign to him a place in the front rank of the greatest rulers of mankind in any age or country.

Nature of
Mughal
government.

The Mughal administration was neither wholly Indian nor foreign. The Turks who preceded the Mughals had brought with them certain ideas and institutions which they applied to the conditions found in this country. They adopted Indian usages too and their administration became a mixture of foreign and Indian elements. The Mughal government bore the same character. The presence of enemies on all sides, the absence of means of communication and the ever-present possibility of rebellions made the king a military autocrat. He was the chief motive power in the state. He led the armies in time of war and upon his success or failure depended the rise and fall of his dynasty. As the officers could not frequently meet each other to discuss matters, records multiplied and lengthy despatches became necessary. For this reason the Mughal government has been termed a *Kaghazi Raj* or paper government.

Civil ad-
ministration.

Akbar organised the various departments of the administration and made religious toleration the basis of his policy. He admitted Hindus and Muslims equally to public offices.

At the head of the government was the king. He was absolute in theory but in practice his actions were restrained by the fear of social opinion. It is true the theologians could issue a decree deposing a king as a violator of the law and

therefore unfit to reign, but they had no means of enforcing it. The result was that even bad kings continued to rule unless a pretender put forward his claim to the throne with the help of the army.

Below the king there were several officers of whom the most important were:—

- (1) The Vakil—Prime Minister. (2) The Wazir—Finance Minister. (3) The Bakhshi—the Pay-Master who paid the salary bills of all officers and exercised a general control over the army. (4) The Chief Qazi—the Highest Judge in the realm. (5) The Khansaman—Lord High Steward—the head of the royal household. (6) The Sadr—the Judge or Superintendent of Charitable Grants and Endowments.

The officer who maintained peace and order in cities was the Kotwal who combined in himself police and magisterial authority. He examined the weights and measures and employed spies who informed him of everything that happened in the city. Justice was administered by the Qazi and Mir Adl, assisted by the Muftis who explained the law. There was no written code of laws. The judges referred to the Quran for guidance and in cases in which the Hindus were parties their customs were taken into account. Punishments were severe and the fines heavy. The emperor himself sat as a Court of Justice and decided important cases. He heard appeals also in the Darbar-i-Am and freely revised the decisions of his officers. The village Panchayat existed and looked after local affairs.

The business of the state required a large number of officers and Akbar who knew well the evils of the Jagir system instituted a state service known as the Mansabdari system. The word Mansab means rank or office. No distinction was made between the civil and military depart-

The
Imperial
Service

ments and very often an officer performed both functions. The entire official class was grouped into various grades and the salary, the tenure of office and the conditions of promotion were fixed by the sovereign himself. The holder of a Mansab was bound to render service military or otherwise to the state. The Mansabs were classified in 33 grades ranging from Mansabdars of 10 to Mansabdars of 10,000—the last being an honour reserved for the members of the royal family. A Mansabdar was required to maintain the contingent defined by his grade, but whether he did so or not in actual practice is a disputed point. His salary was paid from the imperial treasury in cash and very rarely by assignment of land revenue.

The system was open to abuse. False muster was common. Branding and descriptive roll were introduced to prevent fraud but the evil persisted.

There were no rules of service. The emperor's will was the law. He could raise a man to the highest office or degrade him to the lowest. There was no qualifying test. Officers were freely transferred from one department to another. The Hindus were admitted to the public service and were esteemed as highly as the Muslims. But all officers acted under one great handicap. By the law of escheat their properties after their death lapsed to the state so that their children had to begin life anew. The result of this was that they led wasteful lives and spent all their money on luxuries.

The
organisation
of the land
revenue
system.

Sher Shah had tried to improve the system of land revenue but his reign was too short to enable him to complete his scheme of reform. The assessment was made by measurement of the area cultivated. Assignments were granted and though Islam Shah replaced them by cash salaries, they were revived again. The intermediaries between the state and the ryot—whether jagirdars or farmers—oppressed the latter.

The process may be thus summarised:—

- (i) When the season arrived, the officers toured in the villages to find out the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to prepare a statement of the crops. Failure of crops owing to natural calamity or any other damage to crops was reported to the headquarters.
- (ii) The value of the crops was calculated by applying the rates already fixed.
- (iii) Then, one-third of the total value was demanded as the share of the state.

Akbar took a keen interest in the welfare of the peasantry. He issued elaborate instructions for the guidance of his officers. The Collector (Āmil) was to act as a friend of the people and he was ordered 'not to extend the hand of demand out of season.'

The system was a sound one. It worked well under the supervision of Todarmal. The emperor made remissions in times of famine and cheapness of grain. He advanced loans for the purchase of seed and cattle when there was drought. The officers were asked to act honestly, to increase the area of cultivation and to promote the well-being of the peasantry.

The
Provinc.
Government.

The empire was divided into 15 Subahs* or provinces which were divided into Sarkars and these into Parganas or Mahals. Each Subah was governed by a Sipahsalar who performed both civil and military functions. He was generally a member of the royal family or some trusted or capable

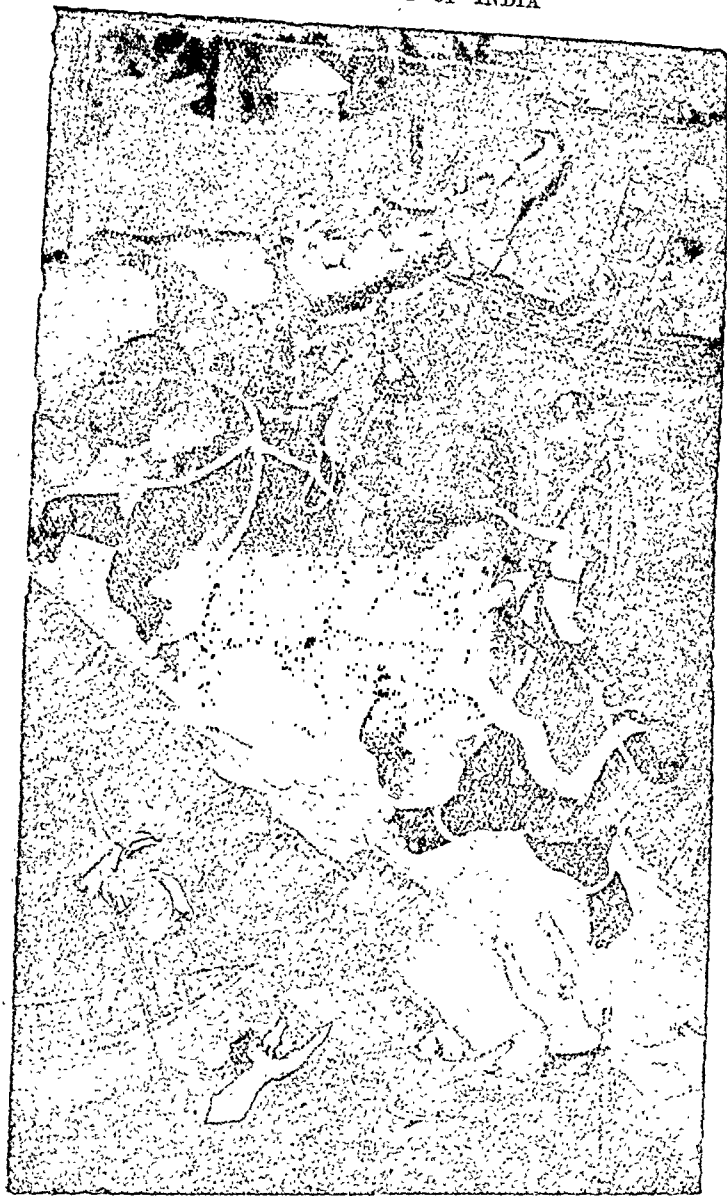
* The fifteen Subahs were:—

- (1) Kabul, (2) Lahore, (3) Multan, (4) Delhi, (5) Agra, (6) Oudh,
- (7) Ajmer, (8) Gujarat, (9) Malwa, (10) Allahabad, (11) Bengal,
- (12) Bihar, (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar, (15) Ahmadnagar.

officer. Below him were the Diwān (Finance Minister), the Amil (the Revenue Collector) and the Faujdar (Commander of the provincial forces) and several other officers. The Wazir or recorder secretly communicated to the



Model of a ruler's court.



Akbar witnessing an Elephant-Fight on a bridge of boats
across the Jhelam.

The emperor's army consisted of three parts: (1) the troops supplied by the Rajas or chiefs who were bound to furnish military aid to their suzerain; (2) the contingents of the Mansabdars; (3) the standing army of the emperor which was paid directly from the treasury. This was not large. Besides these there were two other classes of soldiers called the *Dakhilis* and *Ahdis*. The *Dakhilis* or additional troops were paid by the state and placed under the command of a Mansabdar. The *Ahdis* or gentlemen troopers were recruited by the emperor himself to serve as his bodyguard. They were better paid than ordinary soldiers and sometimes their salary was as much as Rs. 500 per month. The soldiers of the Mansabdars had to provide their own armour out of the salary which they received.

The
organisation
of the army.

The chief branches of the imperial army were the infantry, the artillery, the cavalry, the elephant corps and the navy. The infantry was a mere rabble and was not much esteemed. The artillery too was not very effective, though Akbar tried to improve it. The chief artillery officer was the Mir Atah who held a Mansab of 5,000. The real strength of the army lay in the cavalry. Akbar raised it to a high level of efficiency. He laid down minute regulations about the admission and muster of the horses and enforced their personal inspection by officers. The elephants were used in battles. The emperor maintained a large stable and required the Mansabdars to keep a certain number of elephants.

The Mughals were not a naval power but Akbar maintained a naval department which controlled and managed a fleet of boats to be used in time of war.

Chronological Summary

A.D.

The Second Battle of Panipat ...	...	...	1556
Murder of Bairam Khan ...	...	...	1561
Akbar's Marriage with the Princess of Amer	...	...	1562
Annexation of Malwa ...	...	...	1564
Invasion of Chittor ...	...	...	1567
Death of Udaya Singh ...	...	...	1572
Conquest of Gujarat ...	...	...	1573
Conquest of Bengal ...	...	...	1575
Mirza Hakim's Invasion of the Punjab ...	...	...	1580
Conquest of Kashmir ...	...	...	1586
Annexation of Sindh ...	...	...	1591
Annexation of Orissa ...	...	...	1592
Conquest of Baluchistan and Qandhar ...	...	...	1595
Death of Rana Pratap ...	...	...	1597
Death of Abdulla Uzbek ...	...	...	1598
Capture of Burhanpur ...	...	...	1599
Conquest of Asirgarh ...	...	...	1601
Murder of Abul Fazl ...	...	...	1602
Death of Akbar ...	...	...	1605

tion in a special measure. At the time of his father's rebellion he was mentioned in Court circles as the likely successor of his grandfather. A conspiracy was formed by Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka to set aside the claims of Jahangir and place Khusrau upon the throne but the attempt failed. This made the breach between the father and son irreparable. When Jahangir became king, he kept Khusrau in a state of semi-confinement which galled the spirit of that proud and ambitious prince. One evening he escaped from the fort (April, 1606) at the head of 350 horse and broke out into open rebellion. He marched towards the Punjab and occupied Lahore. There he met the Sikh Guru Arjun who took pity on him and gave him his blessings. The Emperor marched in person against Khusrau who was defeated and was taken prisoner. A large number of his followers were savagely punished and Guru Arjun was also executed and his property was confiscated. The murder may have been due to political reasons but its effect was serious. The Sikhs were infuriated and their opposition to the Mughal Empire began.

Nurjahan.

The most important event in the life of Jahangir was his marriage with Nurjahan, the Persian lady, who afterwards acquired enormous influence in the state. Her original name was Miher-un-Nissa. She was the daughter of Mirza Ghiyas-Beg, a native of Tehran, who had come to India in search of employment and found service with Akbar. Gradually he and his son were appointed to the highest posts in the empire. When Nurjahan came of age, she was married to Ali Quli Istāljū surnamed Sher Afgan who was granted a *jagir* in Burdwan. Bengal was in these days a hot bed of sedition and Sher Afgan was suspected of treason and was ordered to be arrested. Qutbuddin, the Governor of Bengal, who was deputed to arrest him, did his job so badly that Sher Afgan flew into a rage and in the scuffle that followed both lost their lives. Miher-un-Nissa was sent to Court and in March, 1611,

1614 the Rana surrendered himself and accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor. He was treated generously and greetings were exchanged between the Rana and Prince Khurram, the Imperial commander. Jahangir's joy knew no bounds at the submission of Mewar which had offered such stubborn resistance to his father. But he behaved with moderation. The Rana was allowed not to attend the court in person and no matrimonial alliance was insisted on. Henceforward the rulers of Mewar remained loyal to the Mughals till the days of Aurangzeb.

Jahangir continued his father's aggressive policy in the Deccan. The Nizam Shahi Kingdom of Ahmednagar was ruled at this time by Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian, who was an administrator of great ability and force of character. He introduced many changes in the administration and like Todarmal reformed the revenue system of the State, organised its resources and secured its stability. He wanted to shake off the yoke of the Mughals and declared independence. Several Mughal commanders were sent against him but without success. At last Prince Khurram was sent to lead the campaign and he compelled Malik Ambar to sue for peace (1617). Jahangir was much pleased by the achievements of the Prince and conferred upon him the title of Shahjahan.

The Deccan continued to give trouble to the Emperor and war continued with short intervals of repose. The political confusion created in the North by Court intrigues and Shahjahan's rebellion had serious effect on the progress of the war in the Deccan. The guerrilla tactics employed by Malik Ambar baffled the Mughals but their position improved considerably after his death in 1626. His successor Hāmid Khan accepted a bribe from the Mughals and ceded the whole country as far as the fort of Ahmednagar.

The campaign was badly managed. It resulted in heavy loss of men and money without adding an inch of territory to

the empire. The Mughal commanders took bribes and quarrelled among themselves. The Marathas who fought on the side of Malik Ambar received training in the methods of guerrilla warfare which they afterwards so effectively employed in fighting against the Mughals.

By far the most important rebellion of the reign was that of Shahjahan, the heir-apparent to the throne. Born at Lahore in 1592, he had received a liberal education and in 1612 was married to Ariumand Bann Begam, daughter of Asaf Khan, at the age of 20. His strength of character was so great in early youth that he did not taste a drop of liquor till the age of 23 and it was with great difficulty that he was persuaded to do so by his father. As he grew in years, Prince Khurram developed the qualities of a warrior and statesman and was entrusted with important commands. At first he worked in harmony with Nurjahan but ambition brought about a conflict between the two. Anxious to keep power in her hands, Nurjahan wanted to exclude Shahjahan from the succession in favour of the emperor's youngest son Shahriyar who was married to her daughter by Sher Afgan. In 1622 the Persians seized Qandhar and Jahangir ordered Shahjahan to proceed against them at the head of a large force. The Prince felt that his absence from the capital would be used by Nurjahan to advance the interests of his rival. Besides, a fear lurked in his mind that his reputation would be ruined, if perchance he were defeated by the Persians. With these considerations before him Shahjahan refused to obey the royal command. Nurjahan used all her skill to represent Shahjahan's conduct in the most odious light and induced the Emperor to deprive him of his *jagir* in the North. Shahjahan felt convinced that his safety lay in prompt action and that his sword alone could decide the issue between himself and the Empress. The Prince raided Agra and then proceeded towards Delhi but he was defeated

Rebellion of
Shahjahan
(1622-23)
A.D.).

in a skirmish near Bilochpur. He returned to the Deccan passing through Malwa and failing to get help in Gujarat, he returned to Telingana and reached Bengal in 1624. Parvez and Mahabat Khan defeated him and obliged him to betake himself to the Deccan again. The Prince's allies failed him in the hour of need and he found it impossible to carry on the war against the Imperialists. In 1625 he sought forgiveness and was reconciled to his father. He had to surrender certain fortresses and to send his sons Dara and Aurangzeb to court as hostages.

Mahabat
Khan's bold
stroke.

Nurjahan was anxious to secure the succession of Shahriyar to the throne for that would enable her to maintain her ascendancy in the empire unimpaired. Shahjahan was humbled but Mahabat Khan was a powerful nobleman with whom she would have to reckon in carrying out her plans. Mahabat Khan's services in quelling the crown prince's revolt were forgotten and Nurjahan took steps to undermine his power and prestige. He was summoned to court to answer charges of embezzlement of public money. Mahabat felt the disgrace and broke out into rebellion. With the help of the Rajputs he captured the Emperor who was encamped on the Jhelum on his way to Kabul. Nurjahan showed amazing courage and presence of mind in this crisis. She tried to rescue the emperor but her attempt failed. Then she joined him in captivity and, when Mahabat was thrown off his guard, she succeeded in releasing herself and her husband. Mahabat fled to the Deccan and joined Shahjahan.

Death of
Jahangir.

Nurjahan's triumph brought no advantage to her. The Emperor had been ailing for some time. His health grew worse and his asthma took a violent turn. A trip to Kashmir did him no good and he decided to return to Lahore. On the way near Bhimbar he died on October 28, 1627 A.D., after a reign of 22 years.

well. He loved the society of the learned and pious and freely associated with Hindu jogis and appreciated their merit.

He was widely read in Persian literature and composed odes and poems of no ordinary merit. He could fluently speak Turki and took interest in Hindi songs. He was a great lover of nature and describes the flora and fauna of the country with the care and minuteness of a naturalist. He loved painting and vied with the greatest masters of the art in appraising its value. His autobiography, the *Tuzak Jahangiri*, is a valuable record of his life.

The great defect in Jahangir's character was that he allowed himself to fall completely under the influence of others. His incessant pursuit of pleasure made him indifferent to the business of the state. The result was that the peace of the empire was seriously disturbed on more than one occasion and nothing great was achieved in the field of administration.

Disputed
succession.

After Jahangir's death Nurjahan put forward the claims of Shahriyar who lost no time in proclaiming himself emperor at Lahore. As Parvez had died in 1626, the only rival he had to fear was Shahjahan who happened to be in the Deccan at this time. He had a great supporter in his father-in-law Asaf Khan who tried by every means in his power to press his claims. He placed on the throne a son of Khusrau in the meantime and sent word to Shahjahan, who was in the Deccan to hasten to the capital. Shahriyar was defeated and blinded. Shahjahan occupied the throne (1628) and made away with all his rivals. Nurjahan retired from politics and accepted a pension of two lakhs a year. She put on white clothes and lived with her daughter in Lahore until her death in 1645 A.D.

Character of
the new
regime.

Shahjahan's reign marks a brilliant period in Mughal history. His great wealth and power and the noble works of art raised by his bounty spread his fame far and wide.

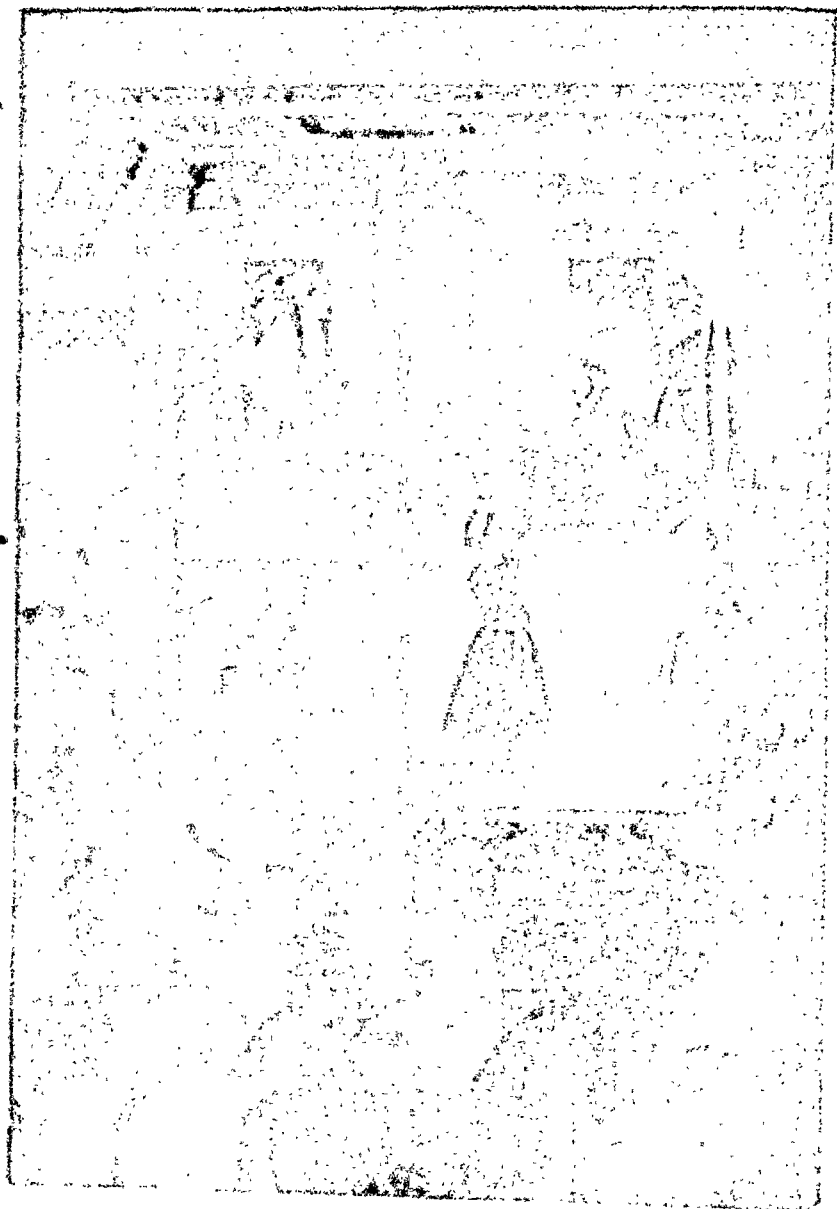
Worst of all they had the audacity to seize two slave girls belonging to Mumtazmahal, the queen empress. The emperor was mightily offended and resolved to punish them. Qāsim Khan, the governor of Bengal, marched against them and laid siege to Hugli. The Portuguese offered resistance but they were defeated and put to heavy losses (1632). About ten thousand of their men and women were killed and many were made prisoners. Shahjahan's punishment was ruthless but the Portuguese amply deserved it. The manner in which they were suppressed was harsh but their dishonest dealings called for the intervention of the state.

Death of
Mumtaz-
mahal.

The original name of Mumtazmahal was Arjumand Banu Begam. She was the daughter of Asaf Khan, Nurjahan's brother, and possessed in a rich measure the gifts of her illustrious family. Shahjahan was passionately fond of her and consulted her in all matters. When he was at Burhanpur, the Begam fell seriously ill and died in giving birth to her fourteenth child in June, 1631. Her remains were brought to Agra where they were buried in the beautiful mausoleum (the Taj) which stands to this day as the finest tribute of a loving husband to a devoted wife.

Shahjahan
and the
Deccan
States.

The Deccan states were not very strong. They were incapable of offering resistance to the Mughals. Shahjahan first directed an attack against Ahmednagar. The immediate cause of the invasion was that Khanjahan Lodi had received help and encouragement from the Nizamshahi king. Ahmednagar was annexed (1633) and the Nizamshahi dynasty came to an end. Shahjahan next turned his attention to the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda. The causes of hostility between the court of Delhi and the Deccan states were both religious and political. The Mughal was a Sunni whereas the Deccan rulers were Shias. The latter acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Persia as the lord of the Shia world, and Shahjahan felt that it was incompatible with the dignity



of the greatest power in India. The Emperor required them to acknowledge his suzerainty. Golkunda complied with the demand and agreed to pay annual tribute but Bijapur refused and decided to go to war. The Mughal troops marched into the country and ravaged it. At last the Sultan purchased peace by paying a heavy indemnity and agreeing to become a vassal of Delhi (1636). Aurangzeb, the third son of the Emperor, who was only 18, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. His charge included the four provinces of Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad. Shahji Bhonsle was also forced to make peace.

The new viceroy remained in the Deccan till 1644 when he resigned office. He was sent to Gujarat from where he was transferred to Balkh and Badakhshan. In 1652 he was again appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The country was in a bad condition. Agriculture had languished and the peasants were neglected. Much cultivated land had turned into jungle and the revenue of the state had declined. The lack of funds greatly hampered the administration and when the viceroy wrote to Delhi for financial aid, the Emperor rebuked him and charged him with incompetence. Despite these difficulties Aurangzeb tried to improve the condition of the country. With the help of Murshid Quli Khan, his Diwān, he organised the revenue system. Honest officers were appointed to measure the land and headmen were asked to promote cultivation. The poor were granted loans to buy seed and cattle.

Having thus improved the finances, Aurangzeb revived the old scheme of Deccan conquest. The pretext for the invasion of Golkunda was that the tribute had fallen into arrears. An added motive was furnished by the treatment meted out by the Sultan to one of his officers. Mir Jumla, who had sought the protection of the Mughals (1656).

The Mughals marched upon Golkunda and laid siege to

the town. At one time it was thought that the fort would be stormed and the kingdom annexed to the empire. But Aurangzeb's harsh treatment of the Sultan of Golkunda displeased Shahjahan and he ordered the siege to be raised. Mir Jumla was rewarded for his part in the affair.

Bijapur was invaded next but here also when victory was in sight, the Emperor, at the instigation of Dara, who had become jealous of his brother's success, ordered the siege to be stopped (1657). Aurangzeb had to obey and his plans for the conquest of the Deccan were completely ruined.

The Province of Qandhar in the north-west which had come into the hands of the Mughals in the reign of Akbar was conquered by the Shah of Persia and annexed to his dominions in 1623. But it was through the diplomacy of Shahjahan that Ali Mardān Khan, the Persian governor of the place, was won over to the side of the Mughals and Qandhar was delivered to them in 1638. Ali Mardān was received with great honour at court and was employed in important civil and military duties. His name is still remembered for the construction of such works of public utility as the great canal and the Shalamar Gardens at Lahore.

The
North-West
Frontier
and
Central-
Asian
policy

Like other rulers of Timurid descent Shahjahan desired the conquest of Transoxiana, the homeland of his forefathers. Taking advantage of the dissensions in the royal family of Balkh and Badakhshan, he sent against them an expeditionary force under Prince Murad and Ali Mardān Khan in 1645. The Uzbeks offered stout resistance and then Prince Aurangzeb was asked to lead the command. His attempt also failed and he had to leave the country in 1647. The expedition turned out a huge waste of money and not an inch of territory was added to the imperial dominions.

The Persians had not forgotten the loss of Qandhar. Shah Abbas III vigorously organised his forces and compelled the Mughal garrison to surrender the fort in 1649. Three attempts were made in 1649, 1652, and 1653 to recover the town. The first two sieges were undertaken by Aurangzeb but they ended in failure. Desirous of proving his superiority over his brother, Dara requested the emperor to renew the siege and he was appointed to conduct the operations. The siege went on for seven months and the Mughal army saw that success was impossible against the Persians. Dara returned to the capital in despair and Shahjahan gave up all hope of recovering his ancestral possessions.

Adminis-
tration.

The general framework of the administration was the same as in Akbar's day though certain changes were made by Shahjahan to suit his convenience. The empire was divided into 22 Subahs and yielded an income of 880 crore *dams* or 22 crores of rupees. Besides land revenue much money flowed into the coffers of the state from other sources such as forfeiture by escheat, customs duties, spoils of war, annual tributes from vassals and other taxes, and thus the revenue of Shahjahan was greater than that of his ancestors. It was this which enabled him to build edifices of unequalled beauty at Agra and Delhi. His government, though beneficent, had a strong military side. It was supported by a huge army consisting of 144,500 cavalry besides infantry, artillery and navy. The cavalry was organised and even Bernier pays a tribute to its efficiency. But the army as a whole was weakened by (1) the revival of the Jagir system, (2) the practice of granting Mansabs to minors, (3) laxity in the Dag system, and (4) want of discipline. The army had become unwieldy and its movements were slow. It could fight well in the open plain but in the rugged, hilly country its numbers became a source of weakness rather than strength.

Shahjahan was famous for his justice. He decided important cases and heard appeals. A day was set apart for hearing the complaints of the people and judgments were delivered with great care. Even the highest officers of the state were punished severely when their guilt was proved. Punishments were severe even for small offences and in serious cases the penalty of death or life-long imprisonment was generally inflicted.

The revenue system had undergone some changes. Akbar did not favour the Jagir system and paid his officers in cash. But in Jahangir's time there was a clear distinction between assigned and reserved lands and in some cases at least governors and officers were appointed on the farming terms. During Shahjahan's reign the farming system came into vogue and according to Mr. Moreland nearly seven-eighths of the empire was farmed out and the Khalsa land was considerably diminished. These farmers paid to the government a fixed sum out of the revenue which they collected from the peasants. The big Mansabdar also farmed out their Jagirs. The method of assessment was also modified. Under Akbar it was something like the ryotwari settlement but in Shahjahan's time the group-assessment was in force, i.e., the state dealt with a whole village or a group of villages instead of dealing with the cultivator. The share of the state was one-third in Akbar's time and it may have increased after his death but no contemporary writer, Indian or European, says that in Shahjahan's time it was one-half of the total produce. The Emperor was deeply interested in the welfare of the peasantry. His minister Sadullah Khan used to say that a Diwan who was unjust towards the ryot resembled a demon sitting with a pen and inkpot. Regulations were issued for the benefit of the peasants; canals were dug and the collectors who improved cultivation in their circles were rewarded. The



Shahjahan on the Peacock Throne.

peasants lived in peace but it appears from Bernier's account that towards the close of the reign the pressure on land had increased and agriculture was in a state of decline. Corruption was prevalent and the Emperor and his officers received presents from the courtiers who shifted the burden to their subordinates. The imperial service became less efficient owing to the quarrels and jealousies of the highest officers.

Shahjahan was more orthodox than his predecessor. He ordered the demolition of temples and encouraged conversions by offering rewards and services. But in certain places concession was made to Hindu sentiment. Della Valle writes that the slaughter of cows was prohibited in Cambay in lieu of a money payment and Father Manrique refers to the emperor's decree forbidding the slaughter of animals in certain Hindu districts.

The European travellers have given conflicting accounts of Shahjahan's administration. Tavernier says that his government was like that of a father over his children. But Peter Mundy and Bernier speak of the tyranny of the provincial governors and the insecurity that prevailed in the country. These accounts relate to particular localities and it would be unfair to conclude from them that there was grinding oppression throughout the country.

Shahjahan had four sons—Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad. Dara was his father's favourite and lived at court, while his three brothers were posted as Subahdars in the different provinces, Shuja in Bengal, Aurangzeb in the Deccan and Murad in Gujarat. Dara was a highly cultured man who freely associated with learned Hindus and Christians and caused the *Upanishads* to be translated into Persian. He was a free-thinker who held converse with Sufis and Vedantists and appreciated their doctrines. But he was proud and vain, and his unorthodox ways displeased the Sunnis at court, Shuja was intelligent and brave but he

War of
succession.

wasted his time in the pleasures of the harem. Moreover he was a Shia by faith and his relations with the orthodox nobility were the same as those of Dara. Murad was a drunkard and a fool in politics and had no control over his tongue and temper. Aurangzeb was a great soldier capable of daring and energy in war. He was a consummate diplomatist who knew how to conceal his thoughts. He was a staunch Musalman and his orthodox Sunni views agreed well with those of the faction that was powerful at court. It was clear that if ever a dispute occurred about the imperial succession the Sunnis would stand by Aurangzeb who was a capable general, a skilled diplomatist and a devoted champion of the faith.

Early in 1657 Shahjahan fell ill and the struggle for the succession began. He made his will according to which Dara was nominated his successor and was instructed 'to act in a manner as to please God and to enhance the peace and prosperity of the subjects.' Indeed Dara had been previously given the title of Shah Buland Iqbal (Prince of Exalted Fortune) and treated for all practical purposes as the heir-apparent to the throne. He remained at the capital and transacted business in the name of the Emperor but a rumour spread throughout the empire that Shahjahan was dead and that Dara was trying to conceal the fact of his death. The Emperor moved from Delhi to Agra and took his abode in the fort.

All the four princes were ambitious men who coveted the throne. Murad and Shuja assumed the imperial title in their respective provinces. Shortly afterwards Aurangzeb entered into an agreement with Murad according to which the former was to become the Emperor of Delhi, while the latter's share was to consist of the Punjab, Sindh, Afghanistan and Kashmir. The three princes moved towards the capital with their armies. Shahjahan who had

somewhat improved in health sent a force against Shuja who was defeated at Benares. Another force under Raja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan was sent against the combined armies of Murad and Aurangzeb. A battle was fought at Dharmat near Ujjain (April 15, 1658) in which the imperial forces were utterly routed. The Princes continued their advance and crossed the Chambal. Dara prepared to fight them and a battle was fought at Samugarh (29th May) in which he was defeated. Aurangzeb entered the city of Agra and forced Shahjahan to surrender the fort by cutting off his supply of water from the Jamna. Samugarh decided the fate both of Shahjahan and Dara. The one was made a prisoner, while the other became a fugitive without any hope of getting the imperial crown.

Aurangzeb and Murad now started in pursuit of Dara who had fled towards Delhi. On their way Aurangzeb invited Murad to a dinner at Mathura and when he was dead drunk, he put fetters on his feet and made him a prisoner. The captive prince was sent to the fort of Gwalior where he was afterwards executed on a charge of murder (1661).

At Delhi Aurangzeb crowned himself as emperor and then started in pursuit of Dara who had fled towards the Punjab and sought refuge in Gujarat. Aurangzeb turned for a moment from the pursuit of Dara and marched against Shuja whom he defeated at Khajwah (January 5, 1659). Dara was received well by the governor but on receiving the invitation of Raja Jaswant Singh he left for Ajmer where he was defeated again. He fled to Sindh and sought shelter with Malik Jiwan, the Beluchi chief of Dādar, whom he had once saved from the imperial wrath. But Malik Jiwan played the traitor; he took the unfortunate prince captive and made him over to Aurangzeb. He was dressed in rags, paraded through the streets of Delhi on a filthy elephant and then executed (August 1659). Shuja

fled to Arakan where he was killed by the natives. Thus Aurangzeb became master of Hindustan.

The causes of Aurangzeb's success in this war are clear. He was a great general who never lost his presence of mind and who knew the art of war. His troops were well organised and loyal while Dara's commanders were treacherous and could be seduced by bribery. Being a strict Muhammadan, Aurangzeb was strongly supported by the Sunni party at Court who disliked Dara's heretical ways. They gave him every support and kept him informed of what happened at Delhi.

Shahjahan lived as a captive in the fort of Agra where he was jealously watched by Aurangzeb's men. He spent his time in reading the Quran and found solace in religion. He died in January, 1666, at the age of 74 and was buried beside his noble consort in the Taj.

Character
of
Shahjahan.

Shahjahan's life presents striking contrasts of good and bad fortune. In his early youth he was a great soldier who commanded difficult expeditions and fought wars with success in dangerous lands. Though he waded to the throne through the blood of his kinsmen, he was not wanting in charity or generosity. He was kind to the poor and the distressed. His justice made no distinction between the great and small, the rich and poor. He was well versed in Persian literature, could speak and write Turki fluently and was acquainted with Hindi. He had a natural love of magnificence which is manifest in the buildings of his reign. He was fond of music and could play upon instruments with great skill. He loved precious stones and like an expert jeweller could appraise their value. He was a man of strong family affections; he was passionately attached to his wife in whose memory he built the Taj which will ever remain a monument of conjugal love and fidelity. Unlike his father he was an orthodox Muslim who showed intolerance towards the Hindus, Shias and Christians. But he never went so far as to lose altogether

the support of his Hindu subjects. He distributed alms in the month of Ramzan and sent large sums of money to Mecca and Medina.

But as Shahjahan advanced in life, he lost his old vigour and capacity for work. He could not control his sons and helplessly allowed power to pass out of his hands. The love of pleasure made him forget the dangers that always surround a despotic throne and when the hour of misfortune came, he found nothing but disloyalty and ingratitude around him. His only consolation in old age was the devotion of his dearly-loved daughter, the saintly Jahanara, who shared his captivity and remained faithful to the last.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Rebellion of Khusrav	...
William Hawkins' visit to the Mughal Court	... 1606
Jahangir's marriage with Nurjahan.	... 1608
Rebellion of Osman in Bengal	... 1611
Submission of the Rana of Mewar	... 1612
Sir Thomas Roe's visit to Jahangir's court	... 1614
Peace with Malik Ambar	... 1615
Rebellion of Shahjahan	... 1617
Qandhar seized by the Persians	... 1622
Death of Jahangir	... 1627
Khanjahan Lodi's rebellion	... 1627
Death of Mumtazmahal	... 1631
Defeat of the Portuguese	... 1631
Annexation of Ahmednagar	... 1632
Surrender of Qandhar to the Persians	... 1638
Mirjuma seeks the Protection of the Mughals	... 1649
Battle of Dharmat	... 1656
Battle of Khairwah	... 1658
Murad imprisoned and sent to Gwalior	... 1659
Death of Shahjahan	... 1661
	... 1666

CHAPTER XXV

THE AGE OF AURANGZEB

(1658—1707 A.D.)

The two
periods.

Aurangzeb's reign may be divided into two periods of 25 years each. During the first period 1658—82 the centre of interest was in the North and the emperor did not pay much attention to the South. But from 1682 to 1707 he and his court remained in the Deccan fighting ceaselessly against the Shia states and the Marathas. The administration in the North declined; the people became poorer and trade and industry which largely depended upon court patronage languished. Agriculture also suffered from depression and when the rural population was thrown out of employment, lawlessness broke out in several parts of the country. It is this administrative confusion, social decay and economic depression which paved the way for the anarchy that prevailed in India in the eighteenth century.

The
problem
before
him.

Aurangzeb's first coronation took place in July 1658 and the second with great pomp on May 13, 1659, when he assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir Padshah Ghazi. Poets sang his praises and courtiers vied with one another in making the festivities worthy of the occasion. The Emperor sanctioned large sums of money to be distributed among all classes of his subjects. He was confronted with a difficult problem. There was a large section of the population which did not approve of the manner in which he had obtained the throne. The administration was not strong in 1658. The army was in a state of disorder and the war of succession had seriously told on its

discipline and efficiency. The supporters of Shahjahan and Dara dreaded the new regime and watched with dismay the growing power of the Sunni faction at court. Naturally, Aurangzeb as the great opponent of Dara was driven to become a champion of the party of reaction. Secondly, he felt that the weakness of the government could only be removed by taking all authority in his own hands. It was by a war against his brothers that he had seized the throne and in such an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility he could not count upon the loyalty of those around him. Thus he decided to meet the situation by a policy of absolutism, distrust and religious reaction.

Soon after his accession he abolished many illegal cesses and issued several *farmans* to please his orthodox friends. He stopped the practice of Nauroz, appointed censors of public morals and forbade the use of *bhang*, and other intoxicants.

Like other emperors Aurangzeb wished to extend his frontiers to the east. Mir Jumla, his commander, who had rendered great services to him in the Deccan wars, was appointed governor of Bengal. He invaded Assam in 1661 as the Raja of that country had seized some Mughal territory. With a large army under his command the general conquered Kuch-Bihar and laid siege to Garhgaon, the Assamese capital (1662). The Mughal army suffered seriously from famine and pestilence and a treaty was made by which the Raja promised to pay an annual tribute and a war indemnity. Mir Jumla died on the way to Dacca. His successor Shayasta Khan carried on the war and conquered Chittagong from the king of Arakan.

Mir Jumla's
expedition
to Assam.

Early in the reign (1659) Champat Rai Bundela, who was in the service of the Mughals, broke out into rebellion. He was defeated and hunted from place to place for two years. At last fearing capture he stabbed himself to death.

Rebellions.

His son Chatrasal gave much trouble to the Mughals. At first he entered the service of Aurangzeb at the request of Raja Jai Singh but the Emperor's religious bigotry led to his desertion and he openly fomented war in Bundelkhand. His victories over the Mughals in several skirmishes brought him the support of other leaders. As the Emperor was busy in the Deccan, he could not effectively deal with him and in 1705 he was induced by his officers to make peace. Chatrasal was given a Mansab and he remained quiet for a year and a half. After Aurangzeb's death he renewed his attacks the success of which was assured by the weakness of the Mughal emperors.

In 1669 a serious rebellion of the Jats broke out in Mathura. The cause of the trouble was that the Mughal governor built a Jam-i-Masjid in the heart of the city on the ruins of a Hindu temple and removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shikoh to Keshava Rai's temple. The Jats rose in revolt under Gokul and plundered the district. The ranks of the rebels were swelled by the peasantry in the neighbouring district and they numbered 20,000 strong. The Mughal generals marched against them and they were defeated. Gokul was slain in fighting but the trouble did not end with his death. A more serious rising occurred in 1686 when the Emperor was engaged in the Deccan wars. But it was suppressed with the help of the Rajputs. Another leader of the Jats, Churaman, caused trouble and plundered the imperial revenues. His power greatly increased after Aurangzeb's death and he became the founder of the Jat dynasty of Bharatpur.

Another important revolt was that of the Satnamis—a religious sect of Narnol which may be regarded as a branch of the Raidasis. The Muslim historian (Khawafi Khan) gives them a good character and says that they were mostly peasants and traders. Their rebellion in 1672 originated in

a petty dispute between a Satnamī peasant and a Mughal footsoldier. A trival quarrel soon developed into a fearful religious rising. Thousands of Satnamis rose up in arms and their victory over the Mughal troops made the people credit them with magical powers. Aurangzeb who was known as *Zindāpīr* (living saint) was equal to the occasion. He also employed spells and charms with the result that the rebels were defeated with a heavy slaughter by the imperialists.

In 1678 Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur died at Jamrud on the North-West Frontier without leaving an heir. Aurangzeb judged it a good opportunity to bring the state of Marwar under his control. He deputed Muslim officers to seize the Raja's territory and to make an estimate of the revenue. Meanwhile the news came that Jaswant's widows who had come to Lahore after his death had given birth to two sons. One of them died after a few weeks, while the other Ajit Singh lived to claim the *gaddi* of Marwar. When the Ranis reached Delhi with their escort, the claims of the child were placed before Aurangzeb but he ordered that the Prince should be brought up in his harem. The Emperor promised that he would give him back his kingdom when he came of age. The Rajputs became suspicious and resolved to die to a man to save their country. Their great leader Durgadas managed to escape with the infant Prince of Marwar and unfurled the banner of rebellion. Ajit's mother who was a Sisodia princess appealed to the Rana of Mewar for help and that chivalrous chief agreed to defend her son's claims. Prince Akbar was sent to deal with the Rajputs but they won him over to their side. Aurangzeb was upset by this defection and he devised a plan to defeat the conspiracy of the Rajputs. He wrote a letter to Akbar expressing satisfaction at the latter's success in befooling the Rajputs and managed to throw the letter into the tent of

The Rajput
war
(1678—
1709).

Durgadas. There was a division among the Rajput allies of Akbar and his designs were frustrated. Durgadas, however, remained firm in his loyalty to the Prince and escorted him to the Deccan where he took shelter with Shambhuji, the son of Shivaji. Peace was made with Mewar (1681) but Marwar continued to be the scene of conflict. Aurangzeb who feared the junction of Akbar and Shambhuji concentrated all his energies on the Deccan. Durgadas carried on the war for 30 years till 1709 when Aurangzeb's successor Bahadur Shah recognised the claim of Ajit Singh to the *gaddi* of Marwar.

The Rajput war drained the resources of Aurangzeb and lowered his prestige. He could no longer obtain recruits from the leading states of Rajputana. The Rajputs lost their sympathy towards the empire and Aurangzeb had to fight in the Deccan single-handed.

The
Marathas
and Sikhs.

The Marathas organised themselves under Shivaji and carried their raids into Mughal territories. They fought against Aurangzeb until his death and inflicted heavy losses on the empire. The Sikhs, originally a religious sect, developed into a formidable military tribe under the leadership of Guru Govind Singh. They also came in conflict with the Mughals and fought against them for many years. The rise and growth of these people and their struggle with the Mughals will be described later.

The
North-west
frontier.

The strong government of Aurangzeb began to press hard upon all refractory tribes and peoples. It was clear to all that rebellions would be sternly dealt with. The Afghans on the frontier who had been a restless and turbulent race since the days of Akbar were told that no raid on the imperial frontier would be tolerated. But being a brave and hardy people they did not submit tamely to this warning of the imperial government. The trouble first began with the Yusufzais who now inhabit the Swat and Bajour valleys and the plain of North Peshawar. They had given trouble to

Akbar who was obliged to patch up a peace with them. Jahangir and Shahjahan had followed the same policy. In 1667 the Yusufzais crossed the Indus, attacked the Mughal outposts and plundered the territories. They were defeated after a stubborn fight and in 1671 Raja Jaswant Singh Rathor was appointed to hold the outpost of Jamrud. More serious was the rising of the Afridis and the Khataks which broke out in 1672. Their leaders gathered much strength and drove back the imperial commanders. When Aurangzeb saw that it was useless to continue the war, he paid them subsidies and adopted the policy of divide-and-rule or as he himself said 'of breaking two bones by knocking them together.' The Afghans were quieted but the war proved a costly one. It had two important effects. Aurangzeb could not employ the Afghans to crush the Rajput rebellion and secondly, Shivaji, the Maratha leader in the Deccan, greatly profited by the absence of Mughal troops in the North. He increased his strength and carried on his raids unchecked.

The Marathas are the inhabitants of that part of the Deccan which is known as Maharashtra. It is a triangular plateau which is enclosed on two sides by the Sahyadri mountains which run from North to South and the Vindhya and Satpura ranges from East to West. The third side of the triangle is formed by an irregular line drawn from Nagpur to Karwar. It consists of three parts:—(1) the narrow strip of land between the Ghats and the Indian Ocean called the Konkan, (2) the Mavala country in the Sahyadri ranges, and (3) the Desa or the vast black-soil plain of the Deccan. The Marathas were formerly subject to the Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan but when the power of the latter declined, they began to assert themselves. The physical features of the country made the people simple and hardy, and increased their chances of success against men weakened by luxury and indolence. The hill forts of the

Aurangzeb
and the
Marathas.

Maharashtra afforded great protection to the Marathas and enabled them to defy the invaders from the North. Their qualities of self-reliance, courage and perseverance stood them in good stead when they had to deal with the Mughals.

The Maratha consciousness was awakened by the religious movements that arose in the country. Pandharpur was the centre of the new movement. The teachers of the new age preached *Bhakti*, i.e., devotion to God and equality of all men. Men and women from the distant parts of the country assembled to offer worship at the shrine of Vithoba (Kṛṣṇa) and Gyandeva preached the doctrine of *Bhakti*. The new movement protested against rites and ceremonies and laid stress on the purity of life and the law of love. The religious reformers composed their songs in Marathi and thus a good deal of Marathi literature was produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century there was a great stir in Maharashtra. There arose teachers like Tukaram, Ramdas, Vāman Pandit and Ekanath who condemned all distinctions of caste and creed and exhorted men to unite themselves by the bond of love. Another factor in the rise of the Marathas was the political training which they had received in the service of the kingdoms of the Deccan. They were employed in the revenue department and were sometimes appointed to high posts. They were enrolled in the armies of the Bahmanids and later of the Sultanates of the Deccan. In the disorder caused by the Mughal wars in the Deccan the Marathas acquired more power. The ground was fully prepared for a national revival and a man of genius was needed to guide the Marathas along right lines. Such a man was found in Shivaji, son of Shahji Bhonsle.

The Bhonsle family played a great part in this revival. They had been farmers for many years but had acquired a reputation for their industry and devotion to religion. The

decline of the Nizamshahi Kingdom and the wars of the Mughals gave them an opportunity of acquiring power in the Deccan. Shahaji Bhonsle, at first an officer of the Nizamshahi kings, obtained a Jagir and fought for them. But when the kingdom became extinct, he took service under Bijapur. There he fell into disfavour owing to his son's predatory activities and was imprisoned in 1648. He was released later through the mediation of two Musalman nobles of Bijapur. Shivaji was far abler and had a keener political insight than his father. He saw the weakness of the Deccan kingdom and by uniting the Marathas he hoped to make a bold bid for power.

Shivaji was born in 1627 in the hill fort of Shivner. He was brought up with great care and affection by his mother Jijā Bai who was a woman of great talents and of a religious turn of mind. She was devoted to the Hindu faith and was familiar with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. From her lips Shivaji used to hear the stories of ancient heroes and sages with great curiosity and was filled with a desire to imitate their example. He took great interest in manly exercises and in a short time learnt horse-riding, sword-fencing and the use of other arms. He was fortunate in having as his tutor a man of strong will and deep learning in Dādāji Kondadeva who, though he did not succeed in teaching him much from books, made him an efficient man of action. The young Shivaji roamed about in the Mavala country seeking allies who would help him in realising his ambition. The Mavala youths rallied round his banner and shared with him the desire for wealth, power and dominion. Their spirit was fired and they offered to enlist as soldiers in his armies. In his choice of career Shivaji was much influenced by his mother's heroic example and force of character. He began to hate the service of the Sultans of the Deccan and wished to carve out an independent kingdom for himself. It

Shivaji's
career.

does not appear that in these early days he had actually the desire of being a champion of the Hindu faith.

He began his military career by seizing the fort of Torna in 1646. This was followed by the capture of Kondana and a few other forts. After his father's imprisonment in 1647 Shivaji remained somewhat quiet till 1655. He did not make any new annexations nor did he offend the ruler of Bijapur. In 1656 he captured Javali, a small state, the chief of which was a feudatory of Bijapur. The possession of Javali enabled him to extend his conquests to the South and West and furnished him with an excellent recruiting ground. This was followed by the capture of Raigarh which he afterwards made the capital of his new kingdom. Aurangzeb was at this time Viceroy of the Deccan. Shivaji knew it was useless to fight against the Mughals unaided, and therefore offered to make peace, but before a definite treaty could be signed Aurangzeb left for the North owing to the breaking out of the war of succession.

In 1657 Shivaji invaded Konkan and made further gains of territory. The ruler of Bijapur asked Shahji to stop his son's aggressions but he replied that the matter was beyond his control. Then the Bijapur government resolved to take action. Afzal Khan was sent against him but in a scuffle that followed he was killed and the Bijapur forces were routed (1659).

Emboldened by his success, Shivaji raided the Mughal territory. Aurangzeb, alarmed by his activities, sent his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan to deal with him. The Mughal troops overran the country, occupied Poona and captured Chakan and Kalyan. Shayasta Khan took up his abode at Poona during the rainy season and Shivaji fell upon the Mughals and massacred a large number of them. Shayasta Khan barely escaped with his life but his son was slain in the confusion that ensued. The Mughal troops fled in all

directions and the Marāthas obtained a complete victory. Shivaji sacked the town of Surat (1664) for four days and nights seized a booty amounting to a crore of rupees.

The failure of Shayasta Khan and the sack of Surat alarmed Aurangzeb and he sent Raja Jai Singh and Prince Muazzam to take the field against Shivaji. The Mughals captured several forts and laid siege to Purandhar and threatened Raigarh, the seat of Maratha power. Shivaji, seeing that further resistance was useless, sued for peace. The treaty of Purandhar was signed (1665) by which Shivaji agreed to help the Mughals against Bijapur. Jai Singh who was an adept in managing men and excelled in diplomacy tried to win over Shivaji and induced him to pay a visit to the Imperial Court. Probably he gave him the hope that he would be appointed viceroy of the Deccan. Shivaji hesitated at first but Jai Singh on solemn oath promised a safe return. He reached Agra in 1666 and was admitted to the Hall of Public Audience. But the Emperor made him stand among the Panj-hazari Mansabdars—an indignity which enraged him beyond all bounds. He lost his temper and began to accuse the Emperor of bad faith. He was put under restraint and imprisoned with his son but both escaped by a clever stratagem and reached the Deccan. Through the good offices of Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam peace was made and Aurangzeb recognised his title as Raja. His son Shambhuji was made a Mansabdar of 5,000 and was presented with an elephant and a bejewelled sword.

This peace did not last long. Aurangzeb, suspicious of his son, looked upon his friendship with Shivaji as a danger to his throne and secretly tried to have him in his clutches. He reduced the number of the Mughal army for financial reasons but the disbanded soldiers took up service with Shivaji who treated them well. As a measure of economy,

the Emperor ordered the Jagir of Shivaji in Berar to be seized. Thus an open rupture was caused between him and the Mughals and war began in 1670. The Mughal commanders quarrelled among themselves and Shivaji profited by their dissensions. He sacked Surat again in 1670 and this was followed by a raid in Khandesh and the annexation of Baglānā. In 1674 Shivaji celebrated his coronation with great pomp and splendour and assumed the title of Chatrapati. The coronation exhausted his treasury and he raided Baglānā and Khandesh. He made peace with Bijapur but it was only a short-lived truce. In 1675 he captured Phonda (a fort of Bijapur near Goa) and annexed the Kanara-coast. Two years later he led an expedition against Bijapuri Karnatic and formed an alliance with the ruler of Golkunda who was greatly impressed by the romantic story of his adventures. In 1677 the fort of Jinji was captured and a few days later Vellore also surrendered.

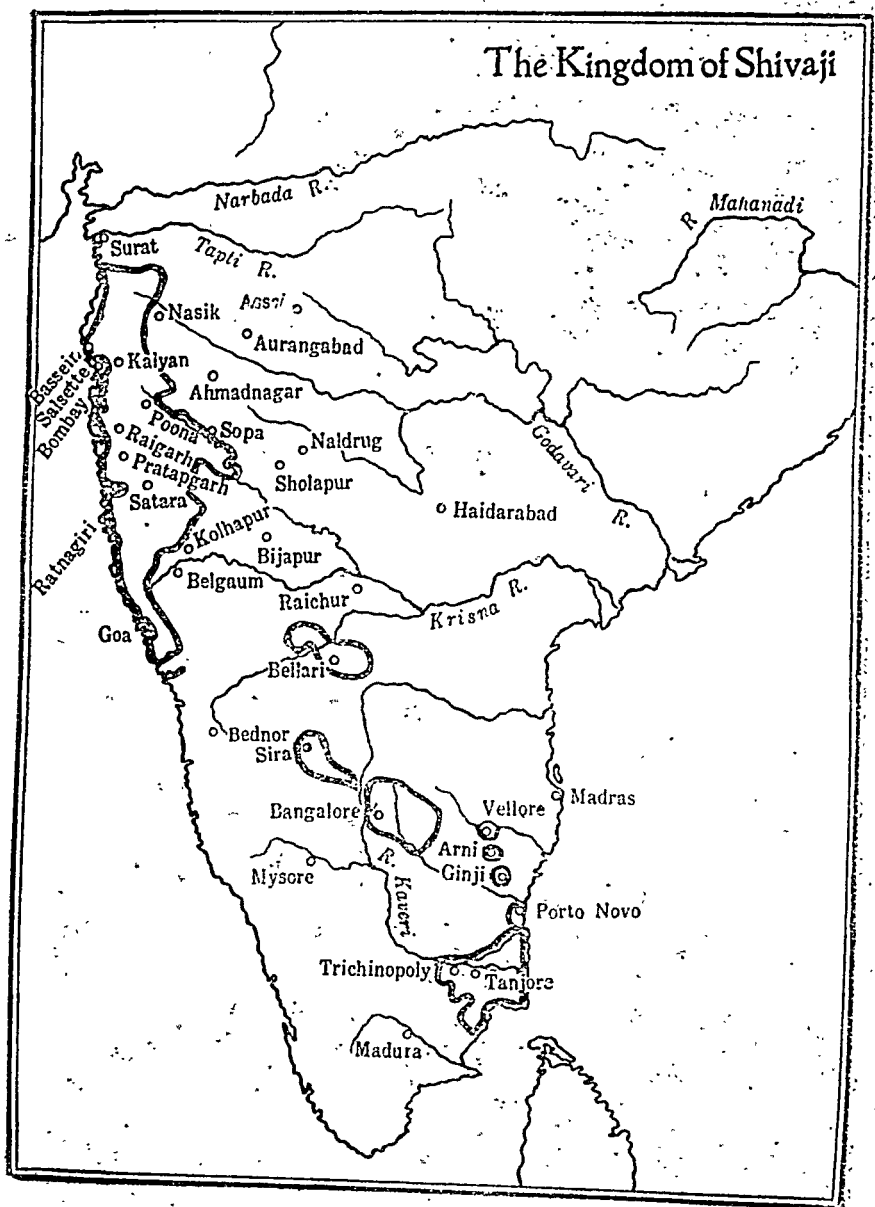
War with the Mughals was renewed again in 1678 and Diler Khan, the Imperial commander, was overjoyed to see that Shambhuji had deserted his father and joined the Mughals. Shivaji raided the Mughal territories but without much success. It was about this time that Shivaji wrote his famous letter to Aurangzeb in which he pointed out the dangers of the policy of intolerance. While war was still going on, Shivaji died in 1680 at the age of 53.

The expansion of his rule brought Shivaji into contact with the Abyssinians of Janjira, a rocky island 45 miles south of Bombay. The Abyssinians were a naval power and to combat their attacks the Marathas also built a fleet of war-vessels but they never achieved any success.

The kingdom or Swaraj which Shivaji founded consisted of the entire country from the modern Dharampur State (in the Surat Agency) in the North to Karwar in the South. Towards the East it included the territory from Baglānā to

Extent of
Shivaji's
kingdom.

The Kingdom of Shivaji



Kolhapur and the Western Karnatak from Baglānā to the bank of the Tungābhadra river.

Besides these territories he had under his control portions of the present State of Mysore and the Madras Presidency. Outside these lands was a wide belt of land called the Mughalai (part of the Mughal Dominion) in Marathi, where he levied a ransom popularly called the Chauth because it amounted to one-fourth of the total revenue of the place. But in reality it was always more than one-fourth and its payment was the only means of saving a country from the attack of Maratha horsemen.

Shivaji was a man of great administrative genius, who fully understood the needs of the time. He was the founder of the Maratha dominions on a national basis. At the head of the State was the Raja himself, who like other rulers of his age, was an autocrat. The authority of the State was concentrated in his hands. He appointed the highest officers, regulated the expenditure of the state and declared war and peace. The home and foreign policy of the Maratha State was entirely in his hands. But in practice the sovereign was assisted by a council of eight ministers called the Ashta Pradhan. These were (1) Mukhya Pradhan or the Prime Minister, (2) Amātya or auditor who checked all accounts of income and expenditure, (3) Mantrī or news-recorder, who prepared a daily record of the king's doings and court incidents, (4) Sachiva or the Secretary who drafted all royal letters, (5) Sumant or the king's adviser in foreign matters, (6) Senāpati or the Commander-in-Chief, (7) Pandit Rao or Dānādhyaksha who was the head of the religious department, and (8) Nyāyādhisha or the Chief Judge.*

Adminis-
tration of
Shivaji.

* There were officers who had Persian names also. They were :—

(1) Peshiwā; (2) Majmudār; (3) Wāqanavis; (4) Shurūnavis;
(5) Dabīr; (6) Sar-i-naubat; (7) Sadr; (8) Qāzī-ul-quzāt.

All these ministers were Brahmanas with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief. The Council was merely an advisory body and its decisions could be upset by the Raja. The kingdom was divided into districts which were grouped into Provinces, each governed by a Subedar. Like Sher Shah and Akbar, Shivaji abolished the Jagir system and paid salaries to his officers. No office was hereditary. The land was surveyed and two-fifths of the produce was fixed as the share of the state. The peasant was treated generously and care was taken to promote agriculture. Shivaji's liberality and benevolence were well known in his day and stories to that effect are still current in Maharashtra. The judicial system was of a primitive type. In villages civil cases were decided by the local Panchayat and criminal cases by the Patel. Appeals in both cases were heard by the Chief Judge who followed the sacred texts.

As the lands of the Maharashtra did not yield sufficient revenue, Shivaji had to look for it elsewhere. From the provinces raided by his horsemen he demanded Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. The Chauth was one-fourth of the State revenue and Sardeshmukhi was an additional contribution of ten per cent. By these contributions the Marathas were able to dominate the lands outside their own kingdom.

Shivaji was a born leader of men. Even his enemies have paid a high tribute to his skill in war. He was endowed with a great capacity for organisation. He maintained a number of forts which he entrusted to able and experienced commanders. These forts were regarded by the Marathas as their "Mother" for in time of war they could take shelter in them.

Shivaji's army was strong and well-organised. At the time of his death it consisted of 30 to 40 thousand cavalry, one lakh of infantry, a corps of 1260 elephants besides artillery and a fleet. The whole army was graded in ranks

The lowest unit was formed by 25 troopers under a Havalдар; five Havalдарs were placed under one Jumlādār; ten Jumlādār under one Hazārī; five Hazārīs under one Panj-hazārī; and the Panj-hazārīs were placed under a Sar-i-naubat. The infantry too and similar gradations. The artillery was inefficient and depended upon foreigners for its strength.

The soldiers were recruited from all castes and creeds. Even Musalmans were admitted in the army. Soldiers were paid salaries and were well equipped with arms. Discipline was strictly enforced. Female slaves or dancing girls were not allowed in the camp and soldiers were strictly forbidden to molest the women and children of the enemy. The officers and men lived simple and frugal lives and were ever ready to bear the greatest hardships. They had an advantage over the Mughal armies. They could swiftly change their positions and harass the enemy. They avoided open engagement and by their guerilla tactics and sudden and surprise attacks created confusion in the enemy's ranks. The army stayed in the cantonment only during the rains and for the rest of the year it was foraging in neighbouring lands.

Unlike other rulers of his time Shivaji was liberal in his religious policy. He made endowments for temples and mosques and granted stipends to learned men. The study of the Vedas found in him a great patron. Every year the Pandit Rao examined scholars and rewarded them according to merit. Shivaji was much influenced in his policy by the famous saint Ram Das whom he recognised as his spiritual Guru (preceptor).

It would be unfair to judge Shivaji's government by the tests which are applied to modern States. He lived in times of war and strife. The dread of the Mughals and the jealousies and intrigues of his neighbours n^ot h^old him concentrate his attention on the efficiency of the m^orruptio system. It

was no time for social reforms and the creation of Parliamentary institutions. Not even the Mughals with all their culture and notions of organised government could accomplish such a thing.

What the people needed was peace and order and security against the aggressions of Muslim powers. Shivaji's government provided these in a large measure and established institutions which promoted public welfare. The fall of his dynasty like that of many others of its kind was due to the weakness of his successors, financial disorganisation, the dissensions of parties and the attacks of foreign powers.

Character
and
achievement
of Shivaji.

Shivaji is one of the greatest Hindu rulers of the middle ages. He was a general and statesman of high order. He developed a small Jagir into a large principality and fought with the Mughals and the Shias of the Deccan on terms of equality. He was a bold and fearless fighter who never shrank from war even when he was pitted against heavy odds. He loved his soldiers and protected their interests. His intrepidity and courage called forth the best qualities of the Maratha youth and his example turned them into heroes. He possessed creative genius which enabled him to weld the scattered Maratha tribes into a nation. He organised an efficient administration and built up a powerful army which he kept under firm control. His soldiers were devoted to him and grudged no sacrifice in his service. He had a keen insight into politics and got out of difficult situations by his diplomacy, statecraft and unerring practical sense.

Noble in his aims, Shivaji was a man of strong character and maintained a high standard of morality. Though deeply religious, he treated Muslim saints with respect and granted lands and annuities to Muslim shrines. The Muslim historian Khwafi Kh^{an} and and and states that he never defiled a mosque and never insulted a woman. Whenever a copy of the Quran

fell into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it to the Musalmans.

Since the days of Akbar the Mughals had coveted the annexation of the Deccan states. Aurangzeb like his ancestors desired the conquest of the Deccan but the troubles in the North prevented him from turning his attention to the South. The Deccan problem was complicated by the junction of Prince Akbar with Shambhuji. It was an insult to the house of Timur which Aurangzeb could not bear. Having made peace with the Rana of Udaipur, he marched (1681) to the Deccan where he spent the remaining 25 years of his life in trying to crush the kingdoms of the South and the Marathas.

Aurangzeb
and the
Deccan
States.

Bijapur was the first to fall a prey to the Mughal arms. The causes of war were these:—

(1) The Sultan was a Shia. (2) The treaty of 1657 still remained unfulfilled. (3) Thirdly, the Emperor's appeal for help found no response at Bijapur. (4) Lastly, he felt convinced that Shambhuji had received help from the Adilshah. Prince Azam was sent at the head of a strong force but he could do nothing. Then Aurangzeb marched in person to direct the operations. The Sultan of Bijapur made an appeal to Shambhuji and to the Qutbshah of Golkunda to which both responded and sent aid. The siege went on for some time but at last the garrison lost heart and Sikander capitulated (September, 1686). He was deposed and Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Even Aurangzeb was touched by the beauty and youth of Sikander. He was treated well and granted a pension. In 1700 he died and was buried at Bijapur.

The fall of Bijapur was followed by the invasion of Golkunda. Abul Hasan was a pleasure-loving monarch who left the affairs of the state to be managed by his minister. The administration fell into disorder and corruption became

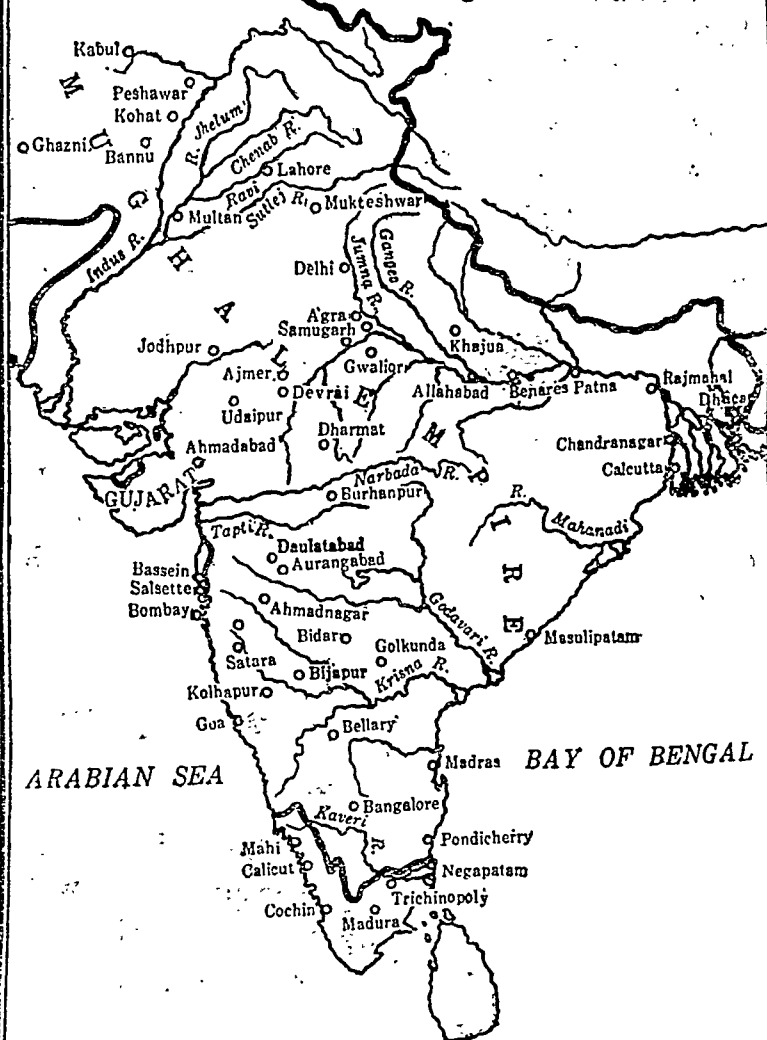
widely prevalent. Aurangzeb, who coveted the wealth of Golkunda, raked up old charges in order to justify his aggression. The siege began in 1687. It was by bribing the keeper of the gate that the Mughals entered the fort. The defence was bravely conducted by Abdul Razzāq, an officer of the Qutbshah, who "fell like a lunatic on that myriad of enemies." The Mughals tried to bribe him also but he spurned their offers. Golkunda was conquered and annexed to the empire. Abul Hasan was sent as a prisoner to Daulatabad where he sighed out his life in lonely despair on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year.

To destroy these Muslim kingdoms was a mistaken policy. They had served as a check upon the Marathas who were now left free to carry on their depredations.

Against the
Marathas
again—
(1689—
1705).

After the conquest of the Shia kingdoms of the South, Aurangzeb was free to devote his attention to the subjugation of the Marathas. The task was well-nigh impossible. No doubt his army was large, his resources adequate and his officers brave and energetic, but all these factors were of no avail against the tactics of the Marathas who seldom appeared in the open field and relied upon guerilla methods of warfare. Unfortunately for them their ruler Shambhuji was a man of indolent nature who indulged in excessive sensual pleasures. It was due to his inactivity that Aurangzeb was able to crush the Deccan states. Shambhuji offered resistance but he was captured in 1689 and executed by Aurangzeb's orders. His son Shahu, a lad of tender age, was sent to the imperial camp after the capture of Raigarh (October, 1689) and was brought up in Muslim surroundings. But the Maratha spirit was not crushed. Raja Ram, another son of Shivaji, who acted as regent, carried on the war against the Mughals. He returned to Jinji and the Maratha leaders like Santaji Ghorpare and Dhanaji Jadav ravaged the country and plundered the Mughal convoys. The treachery of the

Aurangzeb's Empire 1707



Mughal generals hampered the progress of the siege of Jinji for a long time but at last in 1698 the fortress fell and Raja Ram escaped to Satara.

Aurangzeb, now an old man of eighty-one, prepared to deal with the enemy in person. For seven years he remained occupied in a fruitless attempt to crush them. Raja Ram died in 1700 but his widow Tara Bai continued the war. She was an intelligent and far-sighted woman who fully understood the problems of the state. Under her leadership the Marathas fought with great courage and vigour. About half a dozen forts were captured by the imperialists but these victories did not improve their position. The Mughal army had by this time become a huge, undisciplined rabble and the Emperor was also nearing his end.

In October, 1705, he fell ill and at the earnest entreaties of his ministers retreated to Ahmednagar where he died on February 20, 1707. His funerals were simple and he was buried at Daulatabad without any pomp and splendour.

After Shivaji's death a great change came over the Marathas. His ideals were forgotten and the institutions which he had established declined in importance. In the time of his weak successors parties and factions arose and broke up the unity and cohesion of the state. Raja Ram's policy changed the Marathas from a compact and organised state into a loose confederation. The Jagir system was revived and the Marathas began to regard plunder as a regular trade. No longer afraid of the Mughals, they rode with confidence throughout the Deccan levying black-mail where they could. Their tactics also changed. They were no longer light forayers as in Shivaji's time who attacked and disappeared, hiding themselves in the hills or jungles. Now they had regular armies like the Mughals but without discipline or loyalty. The administration was weakened by the dual authority of the king and the Peshwa who was

Changes
in the
Maratha
System.

becoming very powerful. Without a strong central government the military leaders founded principalities for themselves and added to the confusion which prevailed throughout the country in the eighteenth century.

The Sikhs.

The religious policy of Aurangzeb caused discontent among the Sikhs. They were the followers of Nanak who had preached a new religion in the fifteenth century. He laid stress on the unity of God and the purity of life. He denounced caste, ritual and the mediation of priests in securing salvation. The fifth Guru Arjuna (1582—1607) compiled the *Ādi Grantha*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, and established a kind of self-government among his disciples. He asked them to engage in horse trade and gave a secular turn to their ambitions. He made Amritsar the chief centre of the Sikh religion. He was executed by Jahangir for giving help to Khusrau.

The next Guru Hargovind made some changes in the character of Guruship. He encouraged the use of meat, built a fort at Amritsar, lived in royal state and was addressed as the *Sacchā Padishah* (the true king). He held *Darbars* and dispensed justice like kings. He wore arms and raised a small army for purposes of self-defence. He gained the favour of Jahangir and was granted an allowance. But later he incurred his displeasure and was imprisoned for twelve years in the fort of Gwalior. After his release he fought against the Mughals and at last retired into the hills where he died in 1644.

Hargovind was succeeded by Har Rai who was a man of peace. He gave some help to Dara Shukoh when he was a fugitive in the Punjab and displeased Aurangzeb. Of his two sons the younger Harkishen, a boy of six years of age, succeeded to the *gaddi* but he died of small-pox in 1664. As the Guru died young, the Sikhs acknowledged Tegh Bahadur, the second son of Hargovind, as his successor. His conduct

gave offence to Aurangzeb who summoned him to his court and asked him to exhibit miracles to prove his mission. The Guru prepared to die rather than to give his secret (*Sir dia Sār na dia*) and by the order of the Emperor he was beheaded in 1675.

Tegh Bahadur's son Govind Singh succeeded to the *gaddi* and resolved to avenge the murder of his father. But as it was impossible to fight the Mughals, he returned to the hills and for twenty years he remained absorbed in meditation and prayer. He stored his mind with knowledge and sought the favour of goddess Bhawani by incessant worship. He instilled into his followers a sense of high purpose, enjoined upon them the duty of wearing steel upon their person and organised them into the Khalsa or the elect of God. He created in their minds the conviction that they were invincible. The practice of initiation (*pahul*) by which a Sikh was admitted into the fellowship of the Khalsa was started by him. It consisted in drinking sacred water stirred by a Kripān or dagger. Among the members of the Khalsa there was to be no distinction of caste and all men were to worship God and render honour and homage to the Gurus. They were to carry on their person the five 'KS'—Kara (iron bangle), Kes (unshorn hair), Kaccha (short drawers), Kripān (dagger) and Kanghi (comb)—, and were to call themselves Singhs.

Thus did Guru Govind Singh turn a religious sect into a military community which thirsted for war with the Mughals. The zeal and fiery spirit of the Sikhs was in proportion to the religious intolerance of Aurangzeb. The Guru began to act like a king. He built forts and kept an army consisting of Sikhs and Pathans. He declared war upon the hill chiefs and came into conflict with the Mughals. Aurangzeb ordered the governor of Sarhind to proceed against him and he was reduced to great hardships. The

struggle went on with great bitterness on both sides. At last Aurangzeb invited the Guru to meet him in the Deccan but before the latter reached there the Emperor had died. The Guru lived in peace until he was stabbed to death (1708) at Naderah by a Pathan whose father had been killed by him. Govind Singh died but his spirit lived behind him. The Sikhs went on increasing their military strength until they became a formidable power.

Adminis-
tration
under
Aurangzeb.

The spirit in which the administration of the empire had been carried on by his predecessors was ignored by Aurangzeb. He was intensely religious and it was his view of religion that reacted upon his methods of government. His absence in the Deccan for about a quarter of a century, his old age and his personal prejudices impaired the efficiency of the institutions which Akbar had founded and ultimately led to the downfall of the empire.

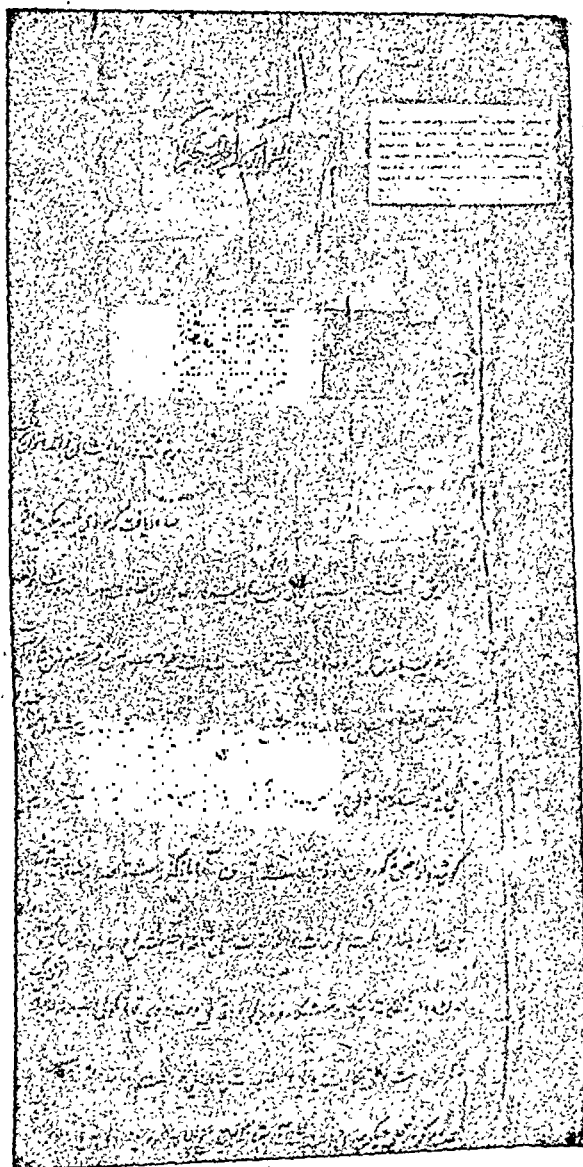
The empire was divided into Subahs which had risen to the number of 21 owing to annexation and conquest. The provincial administration was the same as before. But government at the headquarters was more centralised. The Emperor was a man of wide education and vast experience. He attended to every detail of the administration, dictated *firmans* and despatches to foreign countries. He was his own minister; his officers looked to him for guidance and advice and lost their capacity for initiative and prompt action. As the Emperor wanted to govern the country according to the *Shariyat*, the scope of official activity was considerably widened. Censors of public morals were appointed to make men follow the law. The principle of 'Career open to talent' was completely ignored in the public service and frequently men were raised to high offices simply on account of their religious belief.

Aurangzeb was interested in the welfare of the peasantry. In the early part of his reign he issued orders for the

improvement of cultivation and the proper collection of revenue. The mode of assessment was not much altered. In some villages where the peasants were poor, sharing was practised after taking into account local conditions. It was one-half, one-third, two-fifths and sometimes more or less. But group assessment was the rule. At the beginning of the year the Amin fixed the total amount to be paid by a village or a *pargana*. The demand of the state was higher than under Akbar. Sometimes it rose to one-half of the total produce. The collections were usually made in cash though payment in kind was permitted. The officers were asked to be just and fair towards the peasants and if any Chowdhri, Muqaddam or Patwari practised oppression he was punished. Not a rupee in excess of the state demand was to be taken and the provincial Diwan was asked to report on the loyalty and honesty of the collectors.

But it appears that the condition of the peasantry was growing worse. Many of them had left their fields and taken to other occupations. They had become coolies and camp labourers. Bernier says the scarcity of peasants was not due to any fell disease but to the severity of the administration. The condition of the rural areas was bad; labour was scarce and cultivation had declined. The poor people when unable to pay their revenue were deprived of their children who were sold into slavery. The soldiers during their march damaged the crops without fear of punishment. The Mansabdars were too poor to maintain order and security in the realm.

The decline of revenue, the abolition of a number of taxes and the constant wars of the Emperor brought about a general financial break-down. The salaries of the officers were in arrears and there was no land to be given as Jagir. It became a common practice to capture forts by giving bribes to Qiladars and in the Nasik and Thana districts alone the



Firman of Aurangzeb.

emperor had spent Rs. 1,20,000 for this purpose. In Northern India the state of affairs was equally bad. With the decline of agriculture and industry lawlessness increased. The new Subahdars and Jagirdars recruited from the low classes were unable to keep the people in check. The local officers who lacked energy and resources found it impossible to deal with such warlike tribes as the Jats, the Mewatis, the Bais of Oudh and others. The Jagirs frequently changed hands and the oppression of the new collectors led the peasants to abandon cultivation in despair. Though bribes were condemned in theory, presents were frequently taken. The Emperor himself accepted money for giving titles. The Qiladar of Sholapur had given him Rs. 50,000 in return for the title of Raja. The lower officials took bribes and drank hard, while efficiency and vigour departed from the administration.

The Emperor was short-sighted in his policy towards the Hindus. His devotion to religion overbore considerations of statesmanship and led him to adopt a course which was highly injurious to the interests of the empire. He ordered in certain places the demolition of temples and the closing of schools and in 1679 revived the *Jeziya* in the teeth of the protests of his subjects. It was levied with rigour and deeply hurt the feelings of the Hindus who expected the government to be just and impartial. The services became inefficient for the Emperor did not pay much attention to merit and qualifications. From the political point of view the Emperor's policy was wholly unsound. In his religious zeal he forgot to notice that a great empire cannot rest on inequality, intolerance and privilege.

He treated the Shias as heretics. Men in the highest offices tried to conceal their faith and sometimes pretended as if they were Sunnis. The Irani and Turani parties at court fought among themselves for mastery and created an atmos-

phere of intrigue, selfishness and corruption. There were no social relations between the two communities and even the marriages of their children were arranged in their own circle.

The emperor was a great lover of justice. He sat in the Hall of Public Audience (Darbar-i-am) to dispense justice. He heard the petitions, examined the aggrieved persons himself and often redressed the wrong on the spot. He was assisted by the Qazis and himself prepared a digest of laws to be followed in his courts.

Towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign there was a marked deterioration in the administration. The treasury was empty, officers were venal and institutions in a state of decay. The armies were ill-equipped: they were without organisation or discipline. The results of Aurangzeb's long reign were bankruptcy, wide-spread rebellion and political ruin.

Character of
Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb lived and died like a true Sunni devoted to the faith and tenacious of his purpose. He had his own ideals of duty which he followed throughout his life without any thought of the consequences. From his early days he was known for his courage and military talent of which he had given many proofs during his father's reign. He was a born soldier with a rare capacity for organisation and discipline. His presence of mind and coolness of temper in the greatest crises took his enemies by surprise. In diplomacy and statecraft he had few equals and the most experienced ministers of the state recognised his strength of will and respected his judgment. He was a widely read and accurate scholar who kept up his love of reading to the end of his life. He was well-versed in Persian poetry and had at his command apt quotations with which he embellished his letters. He was a master of Arabic; he knew the Quran by heart and was well-up in Islamic law and theology. His industry was untiring and his memory was so keen that he

never forgot a face which he had once seen in life. His habits were simple and austere. He slept little, shunned gaudy clothes and regulated his conduct according to the Holy Law. He made skull caps to earn his daily bread and looked upon the treasury of the state as a sacred trust. He administered justice with great strictness and made no distinction between the rich and poor. He cherished a high ideal of kingship. Ever engaged in the business of the state, he knew no leisure or rest and acquired a knowledge of administrative detail which none of his contemporaries could excel. He was not a man of strong family affections. The fate of his father always haunted his mind and he kept his sons at a distance lest they should seek to usurp the throne.

He was a staunch Muslim who showed much zeal in observing the faith. He said the prescribed prayers, kept fast during Muharram and eschewed every enjoyment forbidden in the Law. The chief object of his life was to live for the glory of the faith and for this he qualified himself by saintly austerities and self-denials. He would have been an ideal king in a Muslim country but the bulk of his subjects in Hindustan were Hindus whom he regarded as heretics. He lacked imagination and sympathy without which it is impossible to govern a large empire. He was a *zinda pir* (living saint) but not a statesman and failed to take account of the forces that were working around him. Politically he was a failure. He centralised all authority in his own hands with the result that his officers lost all initiative and power of judgment. The new nobles who thronged his court were neither brave soldiers nor capable administrators and in their hands the business of government always suffered by neglect. He had no confidence in others and this habit of suspicion made it impossible for him to secure the loyalty and gratitude of his kinsmen and officers. The Muslim

historian Khwafi Khan passes the following verdict upon his career :

"So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object."

Aurangzeb
and his
sons.

Aurangzeb was a man of highly suspicious nature. He did not trust even his sons and always kept them at a distance.



Aurangzeb in old age.

Prince Sultan, the eldest, was kept in prison for nearly 18 years and the others were treated in a like manner. Muazzam who succeeded him as Bahadur Shah I displeased him by his sympathy with the Deccan states. He was imprisoned in 1687 and released in 1695. Akbar, the fourth son, had fled to Persia where he died in 1704. The youngest Kambakhsha also displeased him

by his conduct during the siege of Jinji and was put under arrest. Even when the aged and weary emperor lay on his death-bed, he did not allow his sons to come near him. The letters which he wrote to them in pathetic language reveal a heart struck with remorse for many unkind acts of his reign. To his dearly loved Kambakhsha he wrote:—

"Soul of my soul! . . . Now I am going alone. I grieve for your helplessness. But what is the use? Every torment I have inflicted, every sin I have committed, every wrong I have done, I carry the consequences with me. Strange that I came with nothing into the world and now go away with this huge caravan of sin! Wherever I look I see only

God... You should accept my best will. It should not happen that Musalmans be killed and the reproach should fall upon the head of this useless creature. I commit you and your sons to the care of God and bid you farewell. I am sorely troubled. Your sick mother, Udaipuri, would fain die with me... May the peace of God be upon you."

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Birth of Shivaji	1627
Capture of Torna	1646
Capture of Jinji	1656
Shivaji's invasion of Konkan	1657
Afzal Khan killed by Shivaji	1659
Rebellion of Champat Rai Bundela	1659
Mirjuma's invasion of Assam	1661
Sack of Surat by Shivaji	1664
Treaty of Purandhar	1665
Shivaji's visit to the imperial court	1666
Rebellion of the Jats	1669
Second sack of Surat by Shivaji	1670
Rebellion of Satnamis	1672
Coronation of Shivaji	1674
Murder of Togh Bahadur	1675
Capture of Jinji by Shivaji	1677
Death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh	1678
Death of Shivaji	1680
Conquest and annexation of Bijapur	1684
Conquest and annexation of Golkunda	1687
Capture of Raigarh by the Mughals	1689
Capture of Jinji by the Mughals	1693
Death of Raja Ram	1700
Death of Aurangzeb	1707
Death of Guru Govind Singh	1708

CHAPTER XXVI

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE EMPIRE

(1707—1761)

The War
of
Succession.

Aurangzeb left three sons, Muhammad Muazzam, Azam and Muhammad Kambakhsha, to contest his throne. The story goes that he left a will in which he suggested a partition of the empire among them. The occupant of the throne was to have Agra or Delhi and with Agra were to be given Malwa, Gujarat, Ajmer and the four Subahs of the Deccan: Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad and Bidar with their ports. The possessor of Delhi was to get the eleven Subahs of the old kingdom from the Punjab to Allahabad and Oudh in the east. His favourite son Kambakhsha was not to be molested if he remained satisfied with the Sultanates of Bijapur and Haiderabad.

But such a settlement was against the traditions of the Mughal dynasty and the three Princes appealed to the sword to decide the question of succession. Kambakhsha who had gone to Bijapur a short time before his father's death assumed the title of *Dinpanah* (defender of the faith) and granted ranks and titles. Prince Muazzam marched towards Agra to take possession of the wealth of the empire, while Azam started from the Deccan and reached Gwalior in a short time from where he proceeded to Dholpur to give battle to his brother. At Jājāu on the 20th June, 1707, a battle was fought in which Azam was defeated and mortally wounded. The defeat of Azam was due to several causes. He did not reach Agra in time where he could have got money and treasure. He had left much of his equipage in the Deccan and his army largely consisted of raw and untrained

soldiers, while his generals like Zulfikar Khan and Raja Jai Singh Kachwaha did not whole-heartedly support him. Much depended upon the leader in these battles and Azam's death caused panic among his troops so that they fled in confusion. Muazzam assumed the sceptre under the title of Bahadur Shah. He, then, marched to the Deccan to deal with Kambakhsha who was defeated in a battle near Haidarabad and died of his wounds. The emperor joined his funeral and granted allowances to his sons and dependants.

Before the war of succession was finally over Bahadur Shah had to march into Rajputana to restore peace and order. There were at this time three important states—Mewar, Marwar and Amber. Aurangzeb had invaded Marwar and occupied it but as soon as he died Ajit Singh drove out the Musalmans and refused to acknowledge the new emperor's suzerainty. In Amber also there was a dispute between two brothers for the throne. The emperor settled the dispute in favour of the man who acknowledged his suzerainty. The Rajputs of Marwar offered no resistance and Ajit Singh waited on the emperor to make his submission. But Rajput pride asserted itself again, and the three Princes formed a coalition against the emperor. It did not succeed but Bahadur Shah made use of his victory to improve his relations with the Rajputs.

After Govind Singh's death the Sikhs had chosen Banda as their leader. He soon gathered forty thousand armed men around himself and unfurled the banner of rebellion. The first attack was directed against Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, who had reduced Guru Govind Singh to great straits and put his sons to death. At first the Sikhs met with a stout resistance and fled but they turned again and pressed hard on the Muslims. Wazir Khan, the governor, who was eighty years old, resisted to the last but he was killed and the town of Sirhind was given up to pl—

Bahadur
Shah and
the
Rajputs.

The Sikhs

Elated with success, Bandā sent out parties to the south, east and west to subjugate the country. An attempt was made to seize Lahore but it failed. The emperor marched in person to deal with the rebels. The Sikh leader entrenched himself in the fort of Lohargarh and took steps to fortify himself against attack but he was defeated. Khwafi Khan highly praises the bravery and devotion of the Sikhs and says that they presented a striking contrast to the Muslims among whom there were not even a hundred men prepared to fight to death. The object of the expedition, namely, the capture of Bandā was not realised but the imperialists seized a vast booty by digging up the fort of Lohargarh (December, 1710). The Sikhs continued to fight and soon after the emperor's death which occurred on the 27th February, 1712, they recovered their fort.

Marathas.

The withdrawal of the Mughal armies from the Deccan led the Marathas to resume their old ways again. They seized several forts and raided the Mughal provinces. The emperor released Shahu, the son of Shambhuji, who had been kept as a prisoner since his capture in 1690. Raja Ram's widow Tara Bai opposed Shahu's claim to the *gaddi* of Shivaji and thus a conflict was created among the Marathas which fully occupied their attention for the time being.

Jahandar
Shah
(1712-13).

While the empire was in such a distracted condition, Farrukhsiyar, the son of Azimushshān, the younger brother of Jahandar Shah, put forward his claim to the throne. On hearing of his father's defeat and death during the war of succession, he wanted to commit suicide but he was dissuaded by his friends from doing so. He proclaimed himself emperor at Patna and struck his coins. His cause was espoused by the Sayyid brothers Abdulla Khan and Husain Ali Khan who had secured the Deputy-Governorship of Allahabad and Bihar respectively through the favour of

Azimushshān.* These Sayyids of Bārah are known as king-makers in Indian history. It was in response to the piteous appeals of Farrukhsiyer's mother that Husain Ali Khan bound himself to support his claim and induced his brother to join him. A battle was fought at Khajwah in which the imperial forces were routed. The news alarmed Jahandar Shah who marched from Delhi to defend Agra. Another battle was fought in which Farrukhsiyer obtained a victory. Jahandar Shah fled to Delhi in great distress and was taken prisoner by one of his own officers who made him over to his rival. By Abdulla's orders fetters were put round the feet of the fallen prince and Farrukhsiyer was proclaimed emperor. A few days later he was strangled to death and his head was cut off.

Farrukhsiyer conferred great honours upon the Sayyid Farrukh brothers and appointed Chin Qilich Khan Nizam-ul-mulk as ^{siyer's} _{rebellion} subahdar of the Deccan. Soon after his accession the new (1713-19) emperor was confronted with the rebellions of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats. The Rajputs had not been effectively put down by Bahadur Shah. Husain Ali marched against Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and compelled him to make peace. The Raja gave one of his daughters in marriage to the emperor and agreed to attend the court, whenever summoned, in person.

The Sikhs under their leader Bandā Bahadur renewed their ravages. They plundered the town of Batālā and

* The elder Sayyad's name was Hasan Ali Khan. Abdulla Khan Qutbul-mulk was his title.

The Sayyids of Bārah (twelve) called so from the number of their villages between the Meerut and Saharanpur districts were men of noble descent. Abdulla was the elder of the two. The members of this family had been military officers since the days of Akbar and were exclusively devoted to arms till the accession of Farrukhsiyer to the throne.

their leader entrenched himself in the fort of Gurdaspur 44 miles north-east of Amritsar. The Sikhs surrendered after a gallant resistance and the fortress fell into Mughal hands on December 17, 1715. Bandā was captured and put in an iron cage. His followers were subjected to cruel tortures but they showed no sign of dejection or fear. He was executed with great barbarity and hundreds of his followers were put to death (1716).

The Jats also carried on their raids in the country between Delhi and Agra. Their chief stronghold was Sansani, a village near Bharatpur, and their leader was Churaman. He was friendly to Bahadur Shah but after the latter's death he rebelled. Attempts were made to reduce him and when he came to court, he was given the charge of the royal highway from Delhi to the crossing on the Chambal—a position which he is said to have abused to his heart's content. The emperor sent Raja Jai Singh Sawāi against him and his new fort was besieged. The siege turned out a costly one and the imperialists made little headway, but Churaman, possibly tired of war, opened negotiations and peace was made in 1718. He had to pay 50 lakhs of rupees as indemnity.

Parties at Court.

Farrukhsiyar was faced with a difficult situation. There were two parties at court—the foreigners and the Hindustanis. The former included men of various races. Pathans. Mughals. Afghans, Arabs, Rumis, etc., but the most important of these were the Turanis and Iranis. The Turanis were Sunnis and as they came from the original home of the Mughal emperors they were favoured by them. The Iranis were Shias and, though their number was not large, there were among them men of great ability and culture who had risen to high positions in the state. The relations between the two were highly strained but they could always combine against the Hindustanis. The Hindustanis were the Indian-born.

Muhammadans like the Sayyids of Bārah with whom were associated many Rajput and Jat chiefs and Zamindars and Hindu officers in the subordinate ranks.

As the Sayyids had helped Farrukhsiyer to the throne, they wished to exercise supreme authority in the state. The first thing that disturbed their relations was the emperor's refusal to offer the Wazirship to Abdulla according to his promise. The Sayyids greatly resented the emperor's showing favour to their rivals while the emperor's friends resented their exclusion from all positions of power and influence. Farrukhsiyer tried to conciliate the brothers but in vain. The administration was hopelessly disorganised. All rules and regulations were neglected. The farming of revenue was revived with disastrous consequences and the Jeziya was re-imposed upon the Hindus. The emperor plotted to get rid of the Sayyid brothers.

The rise
of the
Sayyid
brothers.

Having heard of Farrukhsiyer's plots to overthrow his brother's power, Husain Ali left the Deccan and started for Northern India. His excuse was that he had in his custody a son of Prince Akbar whom he wanted to present at court but in reality he was sent for by his brother to be by his side in the hour of need. Husain Ali came to terms with the Marathas; he employed Maratha horsemen in his service and agreed to pay *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* to Shahu. Farrukhsiyer who was alarmed by Husain Ali's arrival tried to conciliate the brothers and it appeared as if everything would be all right again. But he could never give up his double-dealing and began to plan in secrecy the destruction of the Sayyids. They proved too clever for him. They at once took possession of the fort, deposed Farrukhsiyer and subjected him to great disgrace and humiliation.

Farrukhsiyer was a worthless king but the conduct of the Sayyids was harsh and cruel. The way in which they caused his death is a stain on their memory. It is true their

life was at stake but they might have chosen a less atrocious manner of doing away with their enemies.

Two princes who were merely puppets in the hands of the Sayyids sat on the throne for a few months each. At last in September, 1719, the choice of the brothers fell upon Muhammad Shah, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, while all real power remained in the hands of the king-makers.

The fall
of the
Sayyids.

The conduct of the Sayyids was not liked by the other nobles who felt that they had gone too far. The first to revolt was Furrukhsiyar's great supporter Chabela Ram Nagar, governor of Allahabad (1719), who was joined by his nephew Girdhar Bahadur. Both defied the Mughal power but Chabela Ram died suddenly of paralysis in November, 1719. The Sayyids tried to conciliate Girdhar but he rejected all overtures of peace and shut himself in the fort of Allahabad. This alarmed the Sayyids and they conciliated him by giving him the governorship of Oudh with all its Sarkars and the right to appoint all civil and military officers. He received also a money compensation for his losses. Nizam-ul-mulk, the Subadar of the Deccan, saw in his recall sure death and destruction.* He captured the fortress of Asirgarh and

* The Nizam's father was Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang. His ancestors belonged to Samarkand. His original name was Mir Qamaruddin and his mother was the daughter of Shah Jahan's famous Wazir Sadulla Khan. He was born on August 11, 1671 A.D. and was granted a Mansab when he was only 13 years of age. In 1690-91 he got the title of Chin Qilich Khan. At the time of Aurangzeb's death he was the Subadar of Bijapur. Bahadur Shah recalled him from the Deccan and appointed him Subadar of Oudh. He was given the title of Khan Dauran and a mansab of 6000. After his father's death in 1711 he resigned and was given a pension. He joined service again and was favoured both by Bahadur Shah and Furrukhsiyar. The latter appointed him governor of the Deccan and conferred upon him the title of Khan-i-Nizam-ul-mulk.

occupied Burhanpur. Husain Ali, anxious for the safety of his family, which was still in the Deccan, set out to deal with the Nizam in person. He was accompanied by the emperor who had grown by this time thoroughly sick of the Sayyids and longed to get rid of them. A plot was formed and Husain Ali was assassinated (1720). His camp was plundered and his chief followers were captured.

To Abdulla his brother's death was a terrible blow. He respectfully remonstrated with the emperor and the latter replied that he would take action against the culprits. Abdulla collected a force to resist the imperialists but he was defeated and compelled to surrender. The Mughals plundered his camp and the Jat leader Churaman who followed them seized a large booty with which he made off to his country. Abdulla Khan was imprisoned and two years later (1722) he was poisoned to death.

The character and policy of the Sayyid brothers were scarcely conducive to harmony. For eight years they were masters of the Delhi empire and reduced the emperor to a mere figurehead. They abused their power and ill-treated the nobles of the court. Husain Ali, who possessed greater energy and vigour than his elder brother, used offensive language and on one occasion he boasted that the man on whom he would cast the shadow of his shoe would become the emperor of Delhi. Though ambitious and insolent, the Sayyids were kind to the poor and patronised the learned. Abdulla was friendly to the Hindus and took part in their festivals like Basant and Holi. But he was not an administrator; he neglected business and wasted his time in ease and pleasure. Both were unfit to govern an empire and by their policy created more foes than friends. Aurangzeb was right in saying about the Sayyids of Bārah: "Undue favour to the Bārah Sayyids will be disastrous in both worlds."

Muhammad
Shah's
unwise
policy.

Muhammad Shah was glad to get rid of the Sayyids. He now appointed Nizam-ul-mulk as his Wazir and made a fresh distribution of offices. The Hindu courtiers of whom Raja Jai Singh Sawāi was the most important secured the abolition of the Jeziya which weighed heavily upon the people owing to the rise in the price of grain. The Wazir tried to reform the administration but he was thwarted by the emperor and his favourites. The emperor was young and foolish; he laughed at the Wazir in private and allowed one of his associates to make such remarks as, 'see how the Deccan monkey dances!' The Wazir's actions were misrepresented to the emperor who lent a ready ear to all complaints against him. The court favourites played a double game; they told the emperor that the Nizam wanted to depose him and related to the Wazir the follies of Muhammad Shah and reminded him how unworthy he was to occupy the throne. Besides, the Nizam was much hampered by the quarrels of rival factions at court, and he left Delhi in disgust (1724). He occupied the Haiderabad province (1725) and henceforward became an independent ruler.

Disorder
in the
empire.

While the court of Delhi was distracted by the feuds of parties, the empire was breaking into pieces. The Rohilla Afghans established themselves in Katehar (modern Rohilkhand). The founder of their fortunes was Daud Khan who first took service under a local chief but soon rose into prominence. His adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan, who was a Hindu convert, succeeded him after his death and established for himself a large principality. The sons of Churaman, the Jat leader, created trouble but they were suppressed by Raja Jai Singh Sawāi (1722). The Marathas became powerful in the Deccan and under the Peshwa they overran the countries of Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand and Bengal. Under Baji Rao II they carried

their raids into the Mughal territory in the north and levied *Chauth*.

Thus in 1738-39 the empire was in a state of decay. The treasury was empty, the princes debauched and depraved and the courtiers fought among themselves like kites and crows. There were no elements of stability in the government nor was the military strength of the empire adequate to meet a foreign danger. The frequent civil wars demoralised all parties and disorder spread throughout the country. In these circumstances Nadir Shah, the King of Persia, invaded Hindustan in 1739.

Nadir Quli was an adventurer in early life. His father was a poor Turkoman who earned his bread by making coats and caps of sheepskin. At first he served under some petty chiefs and then took to robbery. He soon gathered a large following and established himself as king of Persia under the title of Nadir Shah in February, 1736. Early in 1737 he marched against Qandhar and captured it a year later. Then he looked about for a pretext to invade the Mughal empire. A diplomat to the core, he wished to avoid the impression that he was the aggressor. He sent envoys to Delhi to request the emperor not to permit the Afghan refugees of Qandhar to escape into Mughal territory. But the imbecile court of Delhi vacillated and made no suitable reply. Thereupon the Persian envoy withdrew and Nadir invaded India.

Nadir
Shah's
invasion,
1739.

Afghanistan was easily conquered and Kabul passed into the hands of the invader with all its wealth and stores. The Mughals had neglected the northern frontier and the Persians found no difficulty in entering the Punjab and captured Peshawar and Lahore. The only man who could save the empire in this crisis was the aged Nizam but he was not trusted by the emperor. From Lahore Nadir marched to Karnal where Muhammad Shah's ill-organised

forces assembled to oppose him but they were routed. The defeat of the Delhi troops was due to the incompetence of the Mughal court and the inefficient methods of war. The imperial commanders were jealous of each other and the Nizam who was a tried soldier waited for the destruction of his rivals. The Indians fought with their swords and were not so skilled in the use of fire-arms as the Persians. The Indian artillery was heavy and old-fashioned and could not be used with rapidity. Lastly, the elephants which formed a part of the Indian armies were useless before the muskets.

Nadir Shah entered Delhi in triumph and was lodged in the palace near the Dewan-i-Khas. The conduct of the Persian troops in compelling the corn dealers to supply corn at a cheap rate led a mob of citizens to attack them. Soon after the rumour spread that Nadir was killed and the excitement reached its highest point.

In great wrath Nadir ordered a massacre of the citizens of Delhi and the slaughter went on from 9 A.M. till 2 P.M. Deeply distressed by this awful tragedy Muhammad Shah implored the conqueror through trusty nobles to spare the lives of his subjects and his prayer was granted. The city was given up to plunder and a vast booty was seized. A heavy ransom of nearly 70 crores was exacted and Nadir Shah returned to his country after reinstating Muhammad Shah in the throne of Delhi. The empire lost heavily in money and had to cede to the Persian provinces west of the Indus.

Nadir Shah's invasion threw the administration of the empire into confusion. The central government was paralysed and in the provinces the people lost their respect for peace and order. The Jats and Sikhs combined to attack Sirhind and set up a chief of their own. The Marathas established their power in the southern and western provinces

and carried their raids into Behar, Bengal and Orissa. In the Gangetic Doab Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla brought the whole country up to the Kamaon hills under his control. The governors of large provinces like Saadat Ali Khan in Oudh, Alivardi Khan in Bengal and Asafjah Nizam-ul-mulk in the Deccan became independent.

The remaining years of Muhammad Shah's reign were spent in resisting the Marathas and Afghans who carried their depredations on a large scale in the imperial territories. After the emperor's death in 1748 the intrigues of factions increased at court and regular administration became impossible.

Rise of the Peshwas

It has been noted before that Shahu was released from captivity and allowed to return to the Deccan by Bahadur Shah. He obtained possession of Satara and seated himself upon the throne. But his long stay at the Mughal court had made him ease-loving and indolent and therefore power passed into the hands of the Peshwa. The founder of the hereditary line of Peshwas was Balaji Bhat, son of Vishwanath, a Brahmana from Konkan, who by his ability and skill reorganised the Maratha administration and put an end to the strife of parties. He encouraged cultivation and abolished the farming of revenues. In 1717 he entered into an agreement with the Sayyid brother Husain Ali who promised *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan and granted certain hereditary lands. The Marathas became powerful and carried their inroads into Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand.

Balaji's organisation of government related chiefly to the collection of revenue. The officers were granted lands instead of salaries and the Raja's authority was reduced to a nullity. The Maratha country was divided into districts

and these were assigned to the principal officers of the state. The Peshwa and the Senapati were placed in command of a great part of the Raja's personal troops and were entrusted with the general defence of the country. All the Maratha officers had particular claims assigned to them on portions of revenue or on whole villages in the districts of each other and thus a common interest was created by Balaji and the unity of the kingdom was maintained. The scale of assessment of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* was raised by him. He laid down the principle that they should be calculated on the revenue as fixed by Todarmal in the time of Akbar or by Malik Amber in Shahjahan's time. He knew that by doing so the Marathas would always be able to claim arrears, for the Deccan lands, ruined by war and famine, were incapable of yielding the estimated revenue. Further he arranged that several Maratha chiefs should share the collections for a single district so that the country might be brought under complete control. By this system the accounts were rendered complicated and, as the Brahmanas were the only people versed in finances, their power increased enormously. The incompetence of Shahu helped to increase the power of the Peshwa and gradually he acquired the authority of the king.

Baji Rao I
1720—40,

After his death in 1720 Balaji Vishwanath was succeeded by his son Baji Rao I who was a man of boundless energy and ambition. He was trained in the school of his father and had formed from his early youth great schemes of conquest. The decline of the Mughal empire gave him an opportunity of extending the sphere of his influence. In 1724 he invaded Malwa and brought that country under his sway. Four years later he forced the Nizam to pay his arrears and successfully foiled his schemes to create dissensions among the Marathas. In 1731 the Marathas levied *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* in Gujarat and next year they

overran Malwa and established their own government. About the same time Bundelkhand and Berar were invaded and occupied. Not content with these raids, Baji Rao who was a daring soldier appeared in 1737 before the walls of Delhi at the head of a large army. The emperor summoned Nizam-ul-mulk to his aid but the latter was defeated in an action near Bhopal (1738) and was obliged to sign the treaty of Sironj by which the Marathas obtained complete sovereignty over the province of Malwa and the entire country between the Narbada and the Chambal rivers. Besides, the emperor agreed to pay fifty lakhs as indemnity to the Peshwa. In 1739 Baji Rao defeated the Portuguese and captured the fort of Bessein. Towards the close of his life he put an end to the jealousy of his rivals by partitioning the Mughal province among the Maratha generals as their 'spheres of influence.' As a result of this scheme each Sardar was free to tax and plunder in the country allotted to him without interference from the Peshwa's agents.

The leading Maratha chiefs who were coming into prominence at the time were the Gaekwar, Sindhia, Bhonsle and Holkar who afterwards founded independent principalities for themselves. Baji Rao showed much sagacity and skill in keeping them apart and preventing them from becoming too powerful. Thus he succeeded in preserving the unity of the Maratha kingdom.

Baji Rao was essentially a soldier and a great predatory leader. He had little taste for regular government and surrounded as he was by factions and intrigues he made no reforms in the administration. But he had great qualities. He was not a bigot and never allowed his pleasures to interfere with his ambitious schemes. He checked the designs of the Nizam and narrowed the sphere of his influence in the Deccan.

Balaji Baji
Rao
(1710-61).

Baji Rao I died in 1740 and was succeeded by his son Balaji Baji Rao under whom the Maratha power reached its zenith. The Marathas under Raghoji Bhonsle and Bhaskar Pandit overran Orissa and inflicted a defeat upon Aliverdi Khan, the governor of Bengal. They advanced upon Murshidabad, captured Hugli and occupied all West Bengal. At last a peace was signed by which Raghoji was to get 12 lakhs a year as the *Chauth* of the province. The frontier of Bengal was fixed and the Marathas agreed not to set foot on the soil of Bengal.

Shahu died in 1748. Balaji Rao obtained from him a written order which authorised him to manage the government of the Maratha empire in the Raja's name. The Peshwa now became the real ruler of the Maratha state. The affairs of the Mughal empire were thrown into confusion by the death of Muhammad Shah in 1748. The leaders of various parties contended for mastery at Delhi. Safdarjang called in the help of Scindhia and Holkar against the Rohillas and this led the Marathas to levy contributions in the Doab. When Safdarjang was dismissed from office, the Marathas assisted his rival and established their influence at the capital.

The Nizam's death in 1748 plunged the Carnatic into civil war. The rival candidates for the *masnad* were supported by the English and the French. Gradually French influence was established at Haiderabad and Bussy was deputed to look after the Nizam's affairs. The Marathas closely watched these developments and intrigued to diminish French influence. Bussy was recalled in 1758 and Balaji hoped to realise before long the fruits of his diplomatic triumph. War broke out between the Marathas and the Nizam and the forces of the latter were routed at Udgir in 1759. A treaty was made by which the Marathas obtained an assignment of land worth 62 lakhs a year and

the forts of Asirgarh, Daulatabad, Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Burhanpur. The power of the Nizam was broken and the Marathas became very powerful. In the north and east also they carried their raids, harried the lands of Rajputana and levied *Chauth*.

By 1760 the Maratha power had reached its zenith. It extended from the Chambal to the Godavari and from the sea to the Bay of Bengal. They levied *Chauth* from practically the whole of India and the Rohilla Afghans, Jats and Rajputs all acknowledged their superior might.

After his return from the Indian conquest Nadir's character degenerated. He indulged in wanton bloodshed and cruelty and lost confidence in his people and officers. The Qazilbashs or Red Heads who were the best soldiers in Persia conspired to kill Nadir and chose Ahmad Abdali, the commander of his troops, as their king. The Afghans looked upon the new king as their national hero and joined his armies in large numbers. The corruption, weakness and dissensions of the Delhi court led Abdali, who had already seized Afghanistan, to invade India several times. The Mughal governor was defeated and the terrified emperor agreed to the cession of the Punjab to the Afghans. Having entrusted the conquered province to his officers, Abdali returned to his country. But in his absence the Marathas entered the Punjab, expelled Abdali's officers and seized Lahore (1758). The audacity of the Marathas enraged Abdali beyond all bounds and he set out at the head of a large force to chastise them. The Marathas organised a splendid army with Sadashiva Rao as his Commander and the Peshwa's son Viswas Rao as his deputy. The two generals started from Poona accompanied by a number of Maratha leaders with well-trained cavalry, infantry and a corps of artillery commanded by Ibrahim

Third
Battle
of
Panipat
1761.

Gardi. The army was joined by the Maratha chiefs like Holkar, Sindhia, Gaekwar and others. The Rajputs sent aid and Surajmal, the Jat chieftain of Bharatpur, joined them with 30,000 men.

The two armies encamped on the historic field of Panipat. The divided counsels prevented the Marathas from presenting a united front to the enemy. Surajmal suggested that the old Maratha tactics should be followed and he was supported by Holkar and other captains. But Sadashiva who had seen the deadly effect of Ibrahim's artillery at Udgir paid no heed to their advice and refused to change his plans. There was another reason. Ibrahim was in favour of a general engagement; he threatened to go over to the enemy if his counsel was not followed. The first charge was a success for the Marathas but Viswas Rao was killed. A fierce battle ensued in which the two sides engaged each other in a death-grapple. Sadashiva was killed and Ibrahim was wounded. The allies of the Marathas lost heart and Holkar fled to Bharatpur where he was hospitably received by Surajmal. Sindhia was wounded in the leg and fled from the field of battle. On hearing the news of these disasters the Peshwa hurried to the north. When he reached the Narbada, he received a letter which contained these words:—

“Two pearls have been destroyed, twenty-seven gold mohars have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be reckoned.”

Balaji who was already suffering from consumption was deeply distressed to hear the sad news and the shock was so terrible that he died after a few days. The defeat of Panipat and the death of the Peshwa plunged the whole of Maharashtra into gloom and dealt a severe blow to their supremacy in the north.

Not so able and warlike as his father, Balaji was a far-sighted and sagacious politician. He broke the power of the Nizam and kept the Marathas under firm control. He was a capable administrator. He improved the revenue system and looked after the administration of justice. He desired to promote the efficiency of the public service and founded an institution for the training of clerks and officers. He improved the condition of the army and supplied it with better materials than before. But he made a mistake in allowing the soldiers to take their families in the camp which had a bad effect on their *morale* and greatly weakened them. He had no first-hand knowledge of the power and resources of the Afghans and this accounts in no small measure for the disaster of Panipat.

The year 1761 is memorable in the history of India. ^{India in} The Maratha power sustained a blow which paralysed it for 1761. the time being. Madho Rao, the next Peshwa, tried to restore the prestige of his nation. He defeated Haider Ali of Mysore and exacted a heavy indemnity from him in 1764. The Marathas crossed the Chambal and carried their raids into the Jat country and Rajputana. They became very powerful in Northern India and Sindhia succeeded in establishing his ascendancy in Delhi politics. The Carnatic wars ended in the defeat of the French by the English at Wandewash in 1760 and destroyed the hope of establishing a French dominion on Indian soil. The Battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) brought about a revolution in Bengal and laid the foundations of British dominion in that province. Haider Ali, destined to fame as a great general and leader of men, became regent for the kingdom of Mysore and began to form ambitious projects of conquest. The Sikhs established the *Khalsa* and organised a large army with the help of which they seized Lahore in 1764. They increased their military resources and made fresh conquests which prepared

the way for Ranjit Singh's power. The effect of the battle of Panipat on the Mughal empire was serious. Its fortunes rapidly declined, and the emperors became puppets in the hands of party leaders and palace intriguers.

Rapid
decline of
the empire
after 1748.

After Muhammad Shah's death in 1748 his son Ahmad Shah succeeded to the throne. He had received no education worth the name and was utterly unfit to manage the affairs of the state. He wasted his time in pleasure and allowed himself to be guided by his worthless favourites. The fall in the income of the state brought about military inefficiency and financial bankruptcy. The nobles exacted from the peasants as much as they could. The Zamindars usurped lands in their neighbourhood and plundered the travellers on the roads. As the pay of the army was in arrears, it became impossible to use it against rebellious governors or officers. The favourites of the court quarrelled among themselves over Jagirs and tried to monopolise the other sources of income. The Khalsa revenue was appropriated by the powerful nobles, leaving a bare pittance for the emperor. Riots broke out in the streets of the capital and the central government was powerless to stop them. The situation was rendered worse by the feuds of the Irani and Turani parties the leaders of which struggled for mastery in Delhi politics. Besides personal ambition, there was racial and religious conflict which embittered their quarrels. The leader of the Irani party was Safdarjang, a Shia nobleman, who was looked upon with suspicion by the members of the Turani party whose leaders were Intizamudowlah, son of the ex-Wazir and Shihabuddin Imad-ul-mulk, the grandson of Asafjah Nizam-ul-mulk. Safdarjang's mistakes brought about his dismissal from office and the emperor appointed Intizam as Wazir in his place and Imad as Mir Bakhshi. Safdarjang replied to this by proclaiming a handsome eunuch as Padishah, declaring him the grandson of Kambakhsha and

made himself Wazir. War was declared against him in which he and his Jat allies were repulsed by the Marathas and the imperialists. Safdarjang retired to Oudh where he built up an independent principality for himself. The provinces having fallen away one by one, the empire now consisted only of the lands in the neighbourhood of Delhi and a few districts in the United Provinces.

After some time the relations between Imadulmulk and the emperor became strained. He terrorised the emperor with Maratha help and secured for himself the office of Wazir. He swore on the Holy Book that he would be faithful to the emperor but this oath was broken and the emperor was deposed and blinded in 1754. Muhammad Azimudowlah, the son of Jahandar Shah, was placed upon the throne under the title of Alamgir II.

During the reign of the king the condition of the empire grew worse. Ahmadshah Abdali invaded India several times and seized the Punjab. The Marathas became powerful at Delhi and they helped the Wazir to give a short shrift to the Irani party. The Wazir put the emperor to death and placed another Mughal prince on the throne. The heir-apparent, Prince Shah Alam sought refuge with the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

The conduct of the Wazir and the Marathas gave offence to Abdali who advanced against the latter at the head of a large army and defeated them at Panipat in 1761. Shah Alam was recognised as emperor by Abdali and Shujaudowlah was appointed Wazir and Najibudowlah Commander-in-Chief of the imperial forces. Shah Alam stayed mostly in the east and, as we shall see later, he was defeated at Buxar (1764) by the English with his allies, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal. He granted the English (1765) the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and in lieu thereof obtained from them the districts of Kara and Allahabad and

a subsidy of 26 lakhs a year. He lived under the protection of the English till 1771, when he was invited by the Marathas to come to Delhi and was placed on the throne by them.

Shah Alam returned to Delhi but he was emperor only in name. His authority did not extend beyond the districts of Delhi and Agra. The nobles at court intrigued as before for power and influence and skirmishes between rival politicians were of frequent occurrence. The two chief supporters of the empire at this time were Shujaudowlah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and Najaf Khan but their deaths in 1775 and 1782 respectively left the emperor in a highly difficult position. He sought the help of Mahadji Sindhia and the latter came to Delhi and restored peace and order. But his reorganisation of the empire and his searching enquiry into the titles and tenures of the Jagirdars caused much opposition. The nobles allied with the Rajputs and the Pathan chief Ghulam Qadir to thwart the measures of Mahadji. Ghulam Qadir took possession of Delhi, smoked his *hugqa* upon the Mughal throne and seized the goods found in the palace. Shah Alam was deposed and blinded by him (1788).

Shah Alam appealed to Mahadji Sindhia for help. The latter organised his forces and determined to avenge the insults offered to the royal family. He defeated Ghulam Qadir and drove the Pathans out of Delhi. Shah Alam was restored to the throne but all the real power was in the hands of Mahadji whom the emperor regarded as his son. Later the emperor became a pensioner of the English. His successors Akbar Shah II (1806—37) and Bahadur Shah (1837—58) were styled as emperors but they possessed neither authority nor prestige. The latter joined the rebels during the Sepoy war of 1857. He was deposed and sent as a state prisoner to Rangoon. Such was the end of the Mughal dynasty whose fame at one time had spread all over the world.

The fall of the Mughal empire was not merely due to Aurangzeb's fanaticism and the fury of foreign invaders but to a number of causes which had been at work since the reign of Shahjahan. The empire was a despotism. It concerned itself primarily with the enforcement of peace and order and did not establish institutions conducive to popular progress. To the vast majority of the people it was an alien government which failed to evoke national sentiment or gratitude. The court was the centre of life and culture and was always preferred to the country which counted for nothing. There were parties and factions at court which quarrelled among themselves and which the latter-day emperors were powerless to control. The Mughal nobility, once so powerful and brave, had declined in importance. The sons and grandsons of men like Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan, Sadullah Khan and Mirjumla were brought up in the midst of luxury and were unfitted to distinguish themselves in critical situations. As the empire was based on conquests and annexations, it could not exist amidst hostile races without a well-organized army. Two causes had seriously impaired the military strength and vigour of the Mughals—the long wars of Aurangzeb and the dearth of capable soldiers. The best soldiers of the Mughals were foreigners who came from the countries of Central Asia. But from Aurangzeb's reign onwards the empire lost the services of these hardy warriors who alone could have withstood the attacks of the Marathas. The administration in the provinces had broken down. The governors acted as they pleased. The peasants withheld the taxes; the roads fell out of repairs and lawlessness increased throughout the country. These evils were aggravated by Aurangzeb's religious intolerance. Taxes were imposed and appointments to public offices were made on religious grounds. The Hindus resented the inequality and injustice of government and

Causes
of the
fall of
the Mughal
Empire.

withheld their support in time of need. The best allies of the empire, the Rajputs, were alienated and the state interference with long-cherished customs, sentiments and religious beliefs caused opposition and widespread revolts.

Under Aurangzeb's successors the decay of the empire was hastened by several causes, the chief of which were the imbecility of the emperors, the onslaughts of foreign invaders and the ruin of the economic system. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali inflicted a heavy drain on the imperial treasury and destroyed the prestige of the royal house. The imperial Crown became a plaything in the hands of ambitious party leaders who set up their own puppets. A great political organisation cannot exist without a sound economic system. The institutions of Akbar had fallen into disuse. The arts and crafts had declined and trade and industry had been seriously injured by the dislocation of the administration. The assessment had become heavier than before and the peasants had left their fields owing to the oppression of the local officers. Even in the provinces near the capital, brigandage and plunder flourished unchecked. By the middle of the eighteenth century the empire had become bankrupt, the name of the great Mughal an empty nothing and the spirit of lawlessness rampant throughout the land. In such circumstances the ruin of the empire was inevitable.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Battle of Jajau	1707
Fort of Gurdaspur captured by the Mughals ...	1716
Peace with Chūrāman	1718
Chabela Ram's rebellion	1719
Assassination of Husain Ali	1720

	A.D.
Death of Abdulla Khan ...	1722
Baji Rao I's invasion of Malwa ...	1724
Capture of Qandhar by Nadir Shah ...	1737
Nadir Shah's invasion of, India ...	1739
Defeat of the Portuguese by Baji Rao I ...	1739
Death of Shahu ...	1748
Death of Muhammad Shah ...	1748
Death of the Nizam-ul-mulk ...	1748
Abdali seized Lahore ...	1758
Battle of Panipat ...	1761

CIVILISATION AND CULTURE UNDER THE MUGHALS

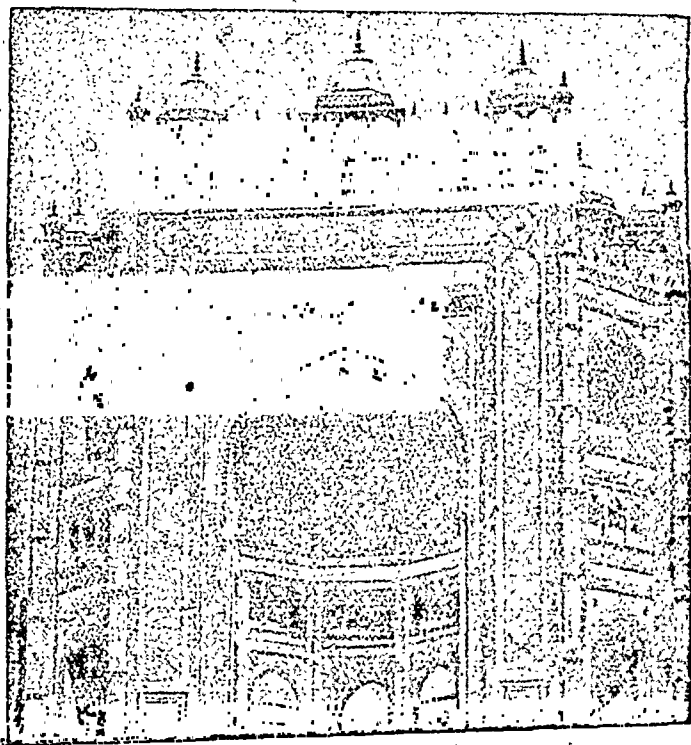
The
Mughal
Government

The Mughal state was not a purely military state although the army was still one of the main supports of imperial prestige and power. The kings were with a few exceptions benevolent despots who cared for the welfare of the people and put down tyranny with a high hand. They had ministers but in practice they acted as autocrats with unlimited power. Their word was law and none could dispute the legality of their orders. There were no councils or Parliaments to make laws for the people. The laws which governed the Hindus and Muslims were derived from their sacred texts and the emperor could neither amend nor abrogate them. The criminal justice was administered by the royal courts and punishments were awarded according to the principles laid down by the emperor. Rules and regulations were framed for the guidance of officers as we find in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and treatises on Muslim law were also compiled like the *Fatwā-i-Alamgiri* under Aurangzeb to help the Qazis in deciding questions of Muslim law. The administration was well-organized and efficient. It was elastic and capable of being changed according to the needs of the time. The Mughals took the fullest advantage of native institutions and ideals and adopted them wherever they were found useful. The activities of the provincial governors and their subordinate officers were closely watched by the *Waqianavis* and other secret agents. They were held back from oppressing the people and were called to account for their misdeeds. The supervision in the remote provinces of the empire was not very

strict but there is ample evidence to show that the officers were always instructed to act with justice and impartiality towards the people. Akbar was a liberal monarch who won the esteem and goodwill of both Hindus and Muslims and Shah Jahan was regarded as a father ruling over his family. The Hindus were treated better than by the Muslim kings of the pre-Mughal days. Under Akbar, Todarmal, Man Singh and Birbal could rise to the highest ranks in the mansabdari system and act as his most trusted advisers. Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh were among the chief generals of Shah Jahan and even Aurangzeb found it difficult to dispense with Hindu aid altogether. Peace was maintained throughout the country, and arts and crafts were encouraged which greatly contributed to the prosperity of the people. The administration declined towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign. The Jagir system was revived to the great detriment of the peasantry. The power of the Jagirdars increased at the expense of the central government and the condition of the rural areas grew worse. The accounts of European travellers show that the provincial governors oppressed the people in many places; the burden of taxation weighed heavily upon the peasantry; the robbers infested the roads and religion began to colour the policy of the state. Aurangzeb reversed the liberal policy of his predecessors. The revenue system declined. The officers were allowed to use the whip if the peasant refused to till the land and to charge rent for the uncultivated land if he could till it. This gave a free hand to the nobles who oppressed the poor. The emperor's centralisation of authority caused distrust, disruption and chaos, and the ruin of the empire became imminent.

The system of Mughal government had certain defects which must be pointed out. They failed to establish a satisfactory administration of police and justice in the rural areas. Their punishments were sometimes barbarous. They

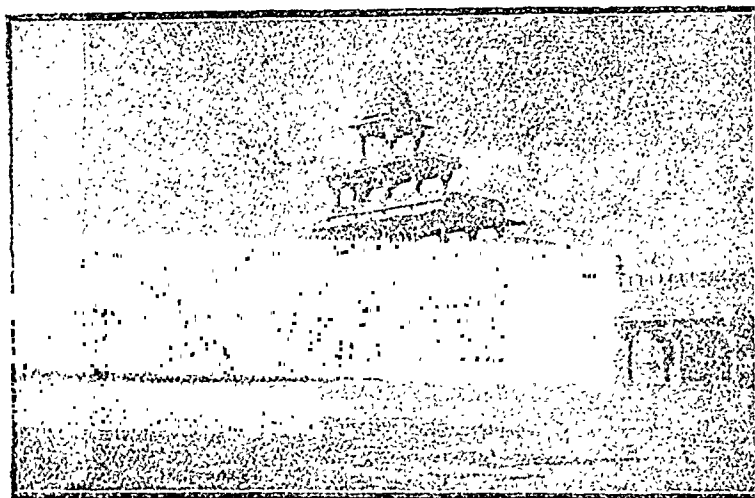
did nothing for national education or economic development of the country. They could do nothing to avoid the wars of succession which broke out at the death of each successive monarch. Their relations with Persia and Central Asia were regulated by no fixed policy nor could they keep Qandhar under their control for any long period of time. Their frontier policy was generally weak and when the Persians and Afghans swept through the passes of the Hindukush, the richest empire of the east succumbed to their attack.



Buland Darwaza, Fatehpur Sikri.

The Mughals were great builders. The palaces, forts, mosques, mausoleums and other edifices built by them bear

testimony to their great genius and exquisite tastes. Before the coming of the Mughals there were several styles of architecture in India, each with its peculiar features. The massive buildings of the Tughluq dynasty have little in common with the provincial style which were developed in Bengal, Jaipur, Bijapur and Golkunda and all these are different from the Gujarat style which has ample decoration and which bears clear traces of Hindu and Jain influences.

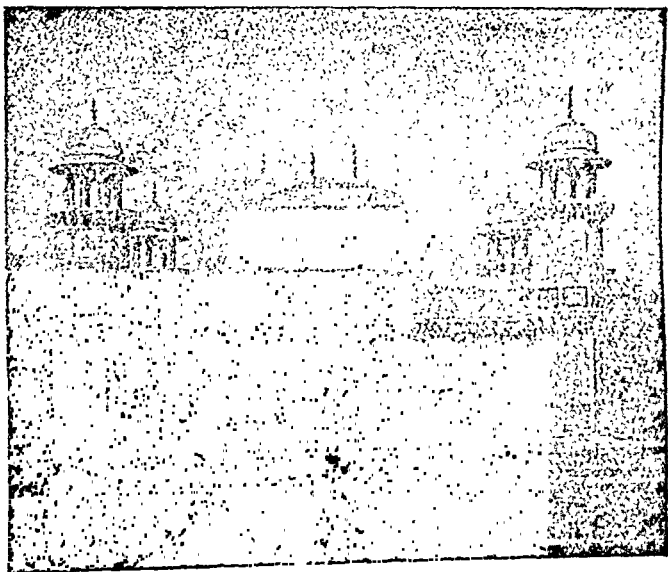


Panchmahal, Fatehpur Sikri.

The Mughal architecture is a blend of Hindu and Muslim elements. The ancestors of the Mughals borrowed their architectural notions from Persia but in India they adopted Hindu ideas and therefore it is convenient to call this style Indo-Persian. The Hindu architect supplied the ground-plan, decorative suggestions, narrow columns and other ornamental features, while the Muslims introduced arches and domes, and made use of geometric patterning, arabesque, window screens and imposing façades. The

elements of the Persian art which the Mughals favoured were coloured tiles, painting and colour, simplicity and elegance of design, gardens and the use of marble which was deemed more suitable to bring out prominently colour designs.

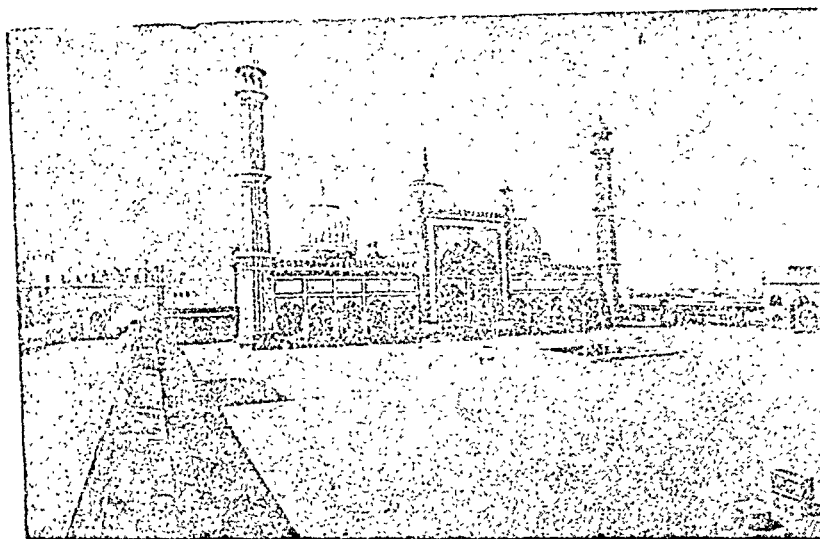
Babar employed architects from foreign countries to construct baths, underground cells and step-wells. Two notable buildings of the Surs have come down to us, Sher Shah's tomb at Sahasram and the old fort at Delhi. Both are



Tomb of Itmaduddowlah.

remarkable for the use of coloured tiles for surface decoration and domes. Akbar made a great contribution to the building art. He combined native material and men with foreign ideas of aesthetic taste and beauty. He used red sand-stone which is very hard to work upon and still he worked wonders with it. One of the earliest buildings of his reign is the tomb of Humayun in which marble is used

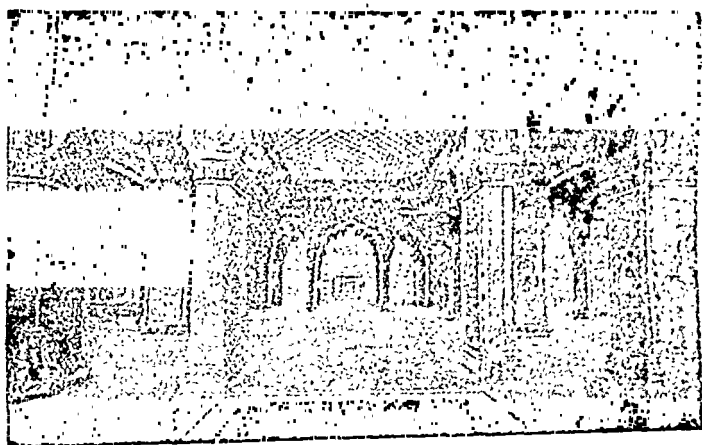
for the first time and which bears clear traces of Persian influence. The other important buildings of his reign are the Buland Darwaza, the tomb of Salim Chishti, the Jam-i-Masjid, the Dewan-i-Khas, the Panchmahal, the palace of Mariyam-uz-Zamani at Fatehpur and the forts of Agra (1564) and Allahabad (1573—83). He began building a magnificent tomb for himself in 1593 which was completed after his death by Jahangir. Akbar employed both Hindu and Muslim master-builders in his service and his buildings at Sikri and Agra bear clear traces of the Hindu art of Rajputana. The windows, flat roofs and horizontal doors instead of arches are all Hindu elements found in his buildings.



Jam-i-Masjid, Delhi.

Jahangir and Nurjahan were both lovers of beauty but they did not do much for the growth of architecture. The only important building of Jahangir's reign is the tomb of

Itmaduddowlah completed in 1628. It is built of white marble and the *peitra dura* is used here for the first time. With Shah Jahan's accession to the throne began the golden age of Mughal architecture. He was a man of fine tastes and spent lavishly on his buildings. The glory of his buildings lies in their exquisite beauty of form, symmetry of design, the beautiful expression of feeling in stone and the use of



Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi.

colour to produce effect. The most famous of his buildings are the Taj, the Pearl Mosque in the Agra Fort, the Jam-i-Masjid, the Diwan-i-Am and the Dewan-i-Khas at Shah-jahanbad (Delhi) of which he laid the foundations. The Dewan-i-Am and the Dewan-i-Khas are remarkable for their elaborate design of ornament and the richness of the material used. The beauty and grandeur of the latter justifies the inscription which can still be read on its walls:

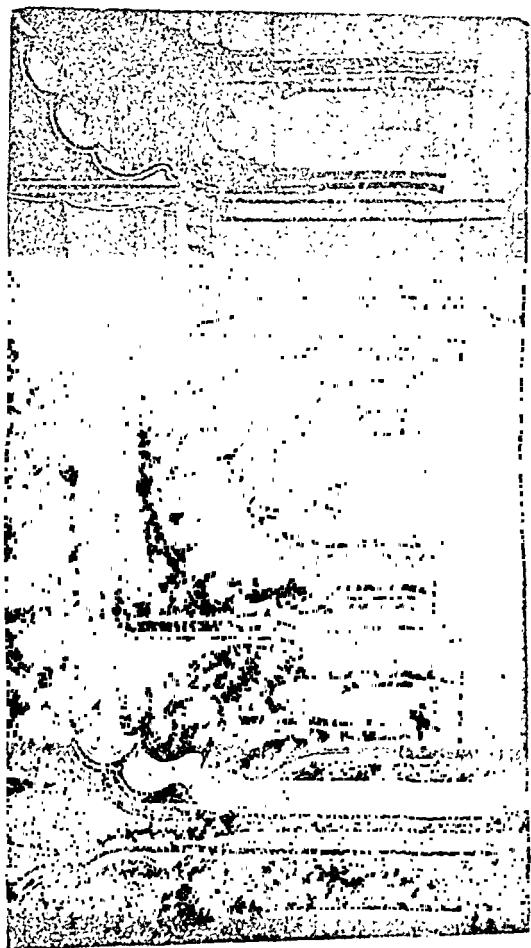
*Agar firdaus bar ru-yi Zamin ast
Hamin ast, u hamin ast u hamin ast.
'If on earth be a paradise of bliss
It is this, it is this. none but this.'*

The Taj built in the memory of Mumtaz Mahal is the finest building in the world. Even a casual visitor is delighted by its charm and superb loveliness. Its domes are perfect. Its arabesques and surface decorations are superb, its surroundings, the garden, the mosque and the gateway beyond, add to its beauty and the use of *peitra dura* has been carried to its very perfection. The construction of the Taj began in 1631 just after the death of Mumtaz Mahal and was not finished until 1653.



Taj Mahal.

With the accession of Aurangzeb the Mughal art began to decline. He had neither leisure nor inclination to pay much attention to architecture. He built a few mosques of which the most notable is the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore which is an exact replica of the Delhi Mosque but in ornamentation it is far inferior and marks the decay in the taste of the Mughals. The Hindus also erected many buildings in the new style the most famous of which are the temples of Brindaban, Sonagarh in Bundelkhand, Ellora and the Sikh temple at Amritsar.



Interior of Pearl Mosque.

The art of painting was known to Indians from very ancient times. The frescoes of Ajanta are the earliest examples of this art. In the early mediæval period painting was practised but it did not make much progress owing to the bigotry of certain Muslim rulers. When the Mughals came to India they revived the art and founded a school of painting which, though originally Persian, became more and more Indian as time passed. In the early stages, the Persian art greatly influenced the Mughal painting. The art of portraiture which Behzad of Herat carried to perfection furnished models to the Hindu and Musalman painters employed by the Mughals.

When Humayun came back from his Persian exile, he brought with him two famous painters Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad whom he employed to prepare an illustrated copy of the well-known Persian classic *Amir Hamzah*. Akbar was a great lover of painting and looked upon it as a means of realising the glory of God. He founded the Mughal school of painting on a solid basis by bringing into close touch Persian and native art traditions. The Muslim painters of his court were Mir Sayyid Ali, Khwaja Abdus Samad, Farrukh Beg and Murad while among the Hindus the most distinguished were Basāwan, Daswant, Sānwal Das, Lal and Nauhan. They were employed to illustrate the *Razmnamah* (the Mahabharat), *Babarnamah*, *Akbarnamah* and Nizami's poems. Painting of human beings is anti-Islamic but Akbar was entirely free from such prejudice. The portraits of his time include book illustrations and independent portraits of the nobles and the emperor. The work of his painters was further embellished by expert gilders and calligraphists. Canvas-painting was also done but only on small-size screens. The emperor's interest in painting was so keen that he examined the work of painters every week and granted promotions or rewards according to their merit. Even the



Night Heron (Mughal Painting).

orthodox began to appreciate the art and Abul Fuzl was able to record:—

‘Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting, but their eyes now see the truth.’

The next ruler Jahangir has rightly been called the soul of Mughal painting. He had a fine æsthetic sense and a poet's eye to discern and appreciate beauty in all natural objects. He had an expert knowledge of painting and declared that he could recognise the hand of various painters in a portrait. In his time the dominance of the Persian school ceased and Indian art became independent. Among his painters Abul Hasan who enjoyed the title of Nādir-uz-Zamān was the best. Mansūr, called the Nādir-ul-‘asar of the age, was highly skilled in the portraiture of birds, plants and flowers. Bishan Das was specially proficient in taking likenesses. The other famous artists of the time were Manohar, Govardhana, Daulat, Ustād and Murād. Some of them accompanied the emperor wherever he went and painted whatever they found remarkable. Thus the range of their subjects became very wide. Jahangir's painters made definite contributions. They specialised in the painting of eyes, hands and lips as the means of expressing the character and feelings of man.

Shahjahan lacked that passion for painting which had characterised his predecessors. He was devoted to architecture and spent huge sums of money in adorning his cities and forts with buildings. Many painters were dismissed from court and sought employment with the nobles. Bernier writes that the craft of painters had declined and the bazar artists were not men of great talent.

Aurangzeb was a puritan who gave little encouragement to art but whether he did so throughout his reign is a matter of doubt. On the contrary, there is much material which



Pea-fowl
(Mughal Painting).

shows that the arts continued to flourish. Much progress was made in miniature-painting. Many of the portraits that have come down to us seem to have been executed by the express command of the emperor for he is seen in them hunting, reading and conducting a siege in person. When his son Muhammad Sultan was in prison, he got portraits of him made from time to time in order to know the state of his health. After his death the art rapidly declined. Muhammad Shah gave away to Sawāī Jai Singh of Jaipur Akbar's own copy of the *Razmnamah* which was a valuable possession of the imperial library. Deprived of court patronage, the artists began to migrate to other centres like Lucknow and Haiderabad.

The downfall of the Mughal school of painting gave an impetus to the Rajput school. Now the artists worked either for the Hindu Rajas or the people and painted scenes from Hindu mythology, village life and society. Calligraphy was also practised under the Mughals. As many as eight modes of writing were current in Akbar's day. Specimens of this art are still to be found in the monuments and books of the Mughal period. So great was the regard for beautiful writing in this age that a scribe went so far as to describe the pen as "Lord of the Universe bringing riches to him who holds it and guiding even the unfortunate to the shore of wealth."

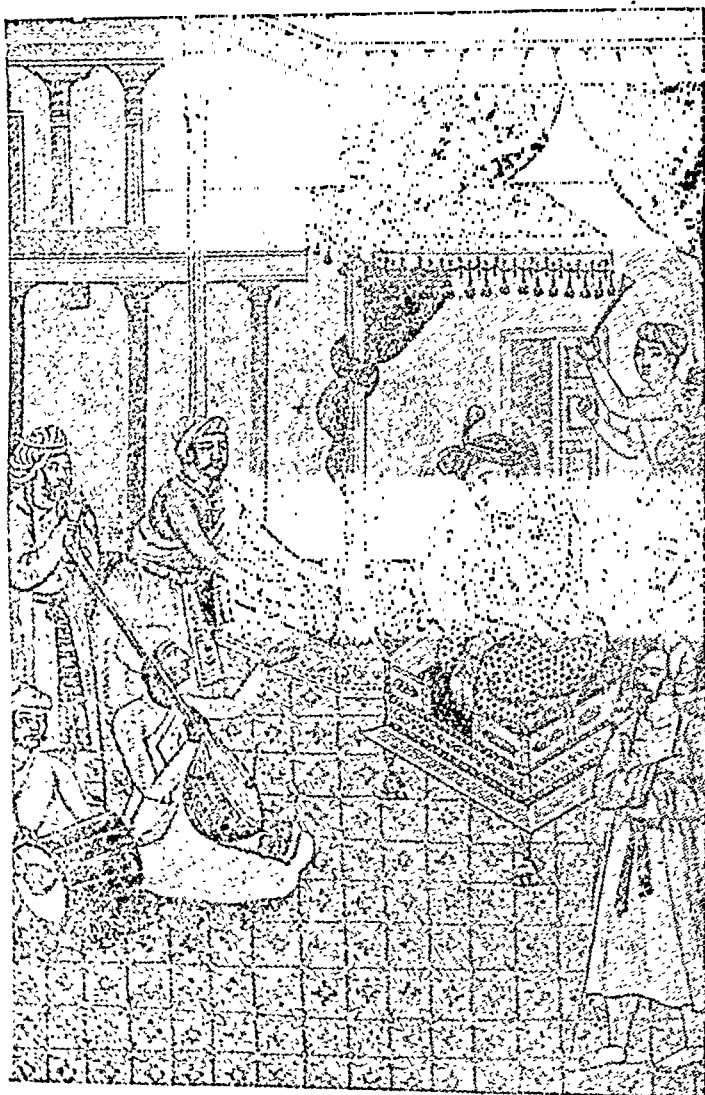
All Mughal kings except Aurangzeb were fond of music. Music Babar composed certain songs to be sung by others. He mentions with great feeling the names and excellences of the musicians of the court of Herat. Humayun was contemplative by nature and there was a distinct touch of Sufism in him. Like most Sufis he loved music as an accompaniment to the prayers to God. Akbar encouraged music like other fine arts. Tansen was one of the chief singers of his court. Jahangir and Shah Jahan both were great patrons of musicians and

loved vocal and instrumental music. Shah Jahan listened to music every evening and it was not unoften that he fell asleep while music was still going on. Aurangzeb hated music which in his opinion tended to lower the morals of the people. He dismissed the court singers and on their leading a funeral procession of music bade them bury it so deep that it might never raise its head again.

Besides the court, music was favoured among religious persons. It was common among Shias and Sufis. Among the Kabirpanthis "bhajans" (hymns) were very common. The Vaishnavas of Bengal held Kirtanas and Kathās as a means of gaining converts. Among the Vaishnavas of the Vallabha school there were many musicians of great celebrity. Several of Vallabha Swami's disciples were great musicians. In the Deccan, Ram Das and Tukaram popularised music as a valuable aid to preaching. The Abhangas of Tukaram were sung among the people; they kindled much religious fervour and devotion among them.

Literature.

Literature made great progress under the Mughals. The imperial unity, social and religious reforms, the association of Hindus in the administration and the attempt to weld together into a nation the various races of India gave a great impetus to the growth of literature. The Mughals belonged to the stock of Timurids who were well known for their culture and refinement in Central Asia. Their catholicity of temper, their broad outlook and their desire to establish a polity based on a well-organised social order brought about a complete change in men's ideas and beliefs and drew them together in the service of a common empire. A fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures took place and the state extended its patronage to Hindu learning and literature. Hindu works on philosophy, astronomy, religion, medicine and other subjects were translated into Persian. The Muslims learnt Sanskrit and adapted to their purpose the contents of ancient books.



ranesnin the Court of Akbar

They acquired a knowledge of Hindi, Bengali and Punjabi languages and enriched them by their contributions. There were Muslim poets of Hindi like Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan whose *dohas* or couplets containing moral truths are still read all over Northern India. Raskhan and Taj who composed devotional songs in honour of Krishna of whom he was a devout worshipper, Mirza Husain Ali who composed songs in Bengali in honour of the goddess Kali and Malik Muhammad Jayasi, the author of the *Padmavat*. Many Muslims studied Hindu music and composed *ragas* and *raginis*. The Hindus who aspired to the service of the state acquired a knowledge of Persian, the language of the court. Their constant association with men who were well-versed in Persian enabled them to cultivate the graces of speech which made the Hindi language more flexible, rich and melodious. The great conquests and battles fought by Hindus and Muslims in a common fellowship stimulated high resolve and inspired a lofty poetry. The heroic deeds of Hindu leaders kindled romantic sentiment and furnished endless themes to poets and bards who gloried in singing their praises. This led to the development of Vrajbhasha. The imperial court became the centre where from life radiated to all parts of the country and in the vicinity of Agra and Delhi the poetic genius soared to the highest pitch and scholars, writers and saints engaged themselves in producing their great works.

Akbar patronised the Hindi poets and appreciated the wit of Birbal and the songs of Tansen. The greatest poet of the age was Tulsidas (1532—1623), the author of the *Rām-charitamānas*, whose name is still revered throughout Northern India. His work is one of the greatest masterpieces of Hindi literature and its fame will endure as long as men take interest in letters. Sūrdās was a remarkable singer of the time who wrote his *Sūrsāgar* in praise of Krishna. Neither of them has any creed or system to uphold. The first besides being a

philosopher is a practical moralist who places high ideals of conduct before men living and working in the world. The second is a devout worshipper of Krishna who extols the love of the Lord as the surest means of attaining the highest bliss. After Akbar the Hindi poetry continued to receive encouragement at Court. Sundar, the poet laureate of Shah Jahan, wrote his *Sundar Sringar* in Vrajbhasha. Other famous poets whose names are worthy of mention are Keshava, Bhushan, Lal, Behari and Deva. Keshava wrote on the art of poetry and among his works the *Kavi Priya* and *Rasik Priya* are the most important. Bhushan and Lal mark the revival of Hindu national spirit and excelled in heroic poetry. Bhushan sang in stirring verse of the gallant deeds of Shivaji and Chattrasal Bundela. Behari and Deva are famous for their erotic verses and their thought is often expressed in obscure language.

Another language closely allied to Hindi was Urdu which resulted from the contact of Hindus and Muslims. It made much progress at Golkunda and Bijapur and its greatest early poet was Wali (1668—1744) who lived at Aurangabad in the Deccan. Ali Adil Shah (1656—72) was a patron of Urdu poetry. Nusrati was a famous Urdu poet at his court. After Aurangzeb's death Urdu poetry continued to make progress and the famous poets of this era of decline are Ghālib, Shah Nasir, Zauq and Maumin.

In Bengal the Chaitanya literature grew in volume and several biographies of the saint like *Chaitanya Bhāgavat*, *Chaitanya Mangal* and *Chaitanya Charitāmrit* were written. During this period Bengal produced poets like Kāsīramadas, Mukandaram Chakravarti and Ghanaram. Bharat Chandra and Ram Prasad wrote their works when the glory of the Timurids was over. Besides these there were many other Hindu and Muslim poets who enriched their mother tongue by the productions of their genius.

Equally great was the literature produced in Persian. Among religious books may be mentioned translations, commentaries on law books and the Quran prepared by Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl and Abdul Qadir Badaoni. There were poets of great eminence among whom Naziri, 'Urfi and Faizi are the most famous. Faizi was the best writer of *Masnavis* and *Nal-Daman* is the best of his works.

Several histories were written under the patronage of the Mughals. Gulabadan Begam, Jauhar, Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad Badaoni, Abbas Sarwani, Firishta, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Khwafi Khan are some of the most famous historians of the age. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* are monumental works in Persian which give a complete account of Akbar's reign and government. Among the Hindus there were Sujan Rai Khatri, Ishwardas Nagar and Bhimsen. The writings of these men throw much light upon the events of those times and in many cases they are our only source of information.

The Mughal princes and princesses took a keen interest in letters. Babar and Jahangir wrote accounts of their lives which are valuable histories of their time. Nurjahan, Jahanara, Zebunnissa were gifted ladies who composed poems which are admired even to this day.

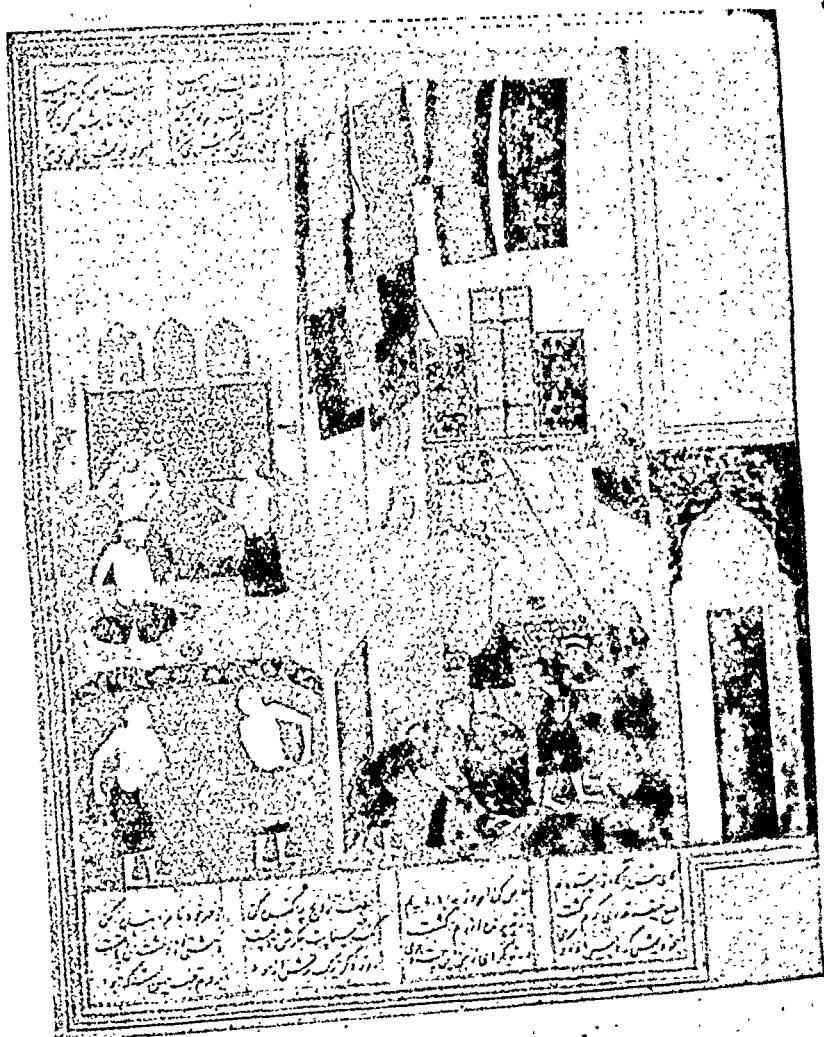
The clerks in the Mughal service developed a particular style of letter-writing which they reduced to a fine art. The name of Madho Ram is worthy of mention in this connection.

There was better unity among the Hindus and Muslims than before. Both of them continued to evolve a new civilisation containing Hindu and Muslim elements. The language, religion, customs and manners of the Hindus influenced the Muslims and *vice versa*. But it would be wrong to suppose that the various social groups coalesced into a nation. Differences of race, religion and caste retarded the growth of homogeneity among the people. The Muslims too could not

wholly escape the influence of caste. Even among them distinctions began to be observed and the Sayyids, Shaikhs, Mughals and Pathans were no longer considered as equal members of society. Religious influence was still dominant in social life. It was not unusual for public policy to be guided by religious considerations. The Hindus, though broken up into tribes and sects, united in making a protest against the bigotry of the state and claimed equal treatment.

The King and his courtiers led extravagant lives. They maintained large establishments and their *harems* contained numerous women. Drink was a common vice and many nobles died of it. The life of the Hindus still moved in traditional grooves. Child-marriage, widowhood and *Sati* were still prevalent among them. The Mughals tried to remove these evils but with little success. The Hindus were simple in their habits and hated ostentation though the womenfolk were fond of jewels and ornaments. The Brahmanas still loved learning and worked for social improvement. As a class they had degenerated like the other castes but there were still many among them who commanded the respect and veneration of the people. The Rajputs were brave and chivalrous and preferred death to desertion or flight from the field of battle.

Festivals were celebrated with great pomp and show. Akbar observed Hindu festivals and Jahangir writes in his *memoirs* that he considered the Rakshabandhana as a 'laudable religious practice' and ordered that the Hindu amirs and heads of castes should fasten *rakhis* upon the imperial arms. Shahjahan allowed these festivities at court and took interest in the rejoicings of his Hindu subjects. These festivals served to lessen the rigour of the caste system temporarily and made the Hindus feel that they were essentially one people. The Muslim festivals like Id, Bakrid and Muharram were celebrated with great zest. The Hindus also participated in them and thus the feeling of fellowship and



Scene in a Public Bath.

brotherliness was strengthened. There was a striking similarity between the customs, manners, fashions and tastes of the upper class Hindus and Musalmans. They had the same superstitions, vices and failings and were in many cases indistinguishable from each other.

Bernier testifies to the general health and physical strength of Indians. Though there was no organised system of hospitals, the state administered medical relief. Pietro-della Valle mentions a veterinary hospital at Cambay. Famine and pestilence caused dire misery among the population and Peter Mundy writes that during the Deccan famine of 1630-31 women sold their children for a few *seers* of rice and men did not stir out of their homes lest they should be seized and eaten. The condition of the masses was better than that of the upper classes and their domestic virtues were of a superior type. The teachings of the *Ramayana* and the Vaishnava preachers were much appreciated and the life of the poorest man became a thing of happiness and joy.

There was no state system of education but the Mughals did something to remove popular ignorance. Akbar granted stipends and lands to teachers and scholars and his successors followed his example. Education was imparted through private agencies. Brahmana Pandits and Maulvis kept schools where they taught free of cost, and *Kathias* and religious gatherings were organised to educate the people in the doctrines of their faiths.

The Mughals were fond of Persian culture but not of Persian fanaticism. They did not relish the idea of religious persecution. The experience of earlier Muslim sovereigns also pointed towards tolerance and sympathetic understanding as the wiser course of policy. Attempts were made by Hindu and Muslim saints to bring the two faiths together. Among the Muslims the work of reconciliation was done by the Sufis who believed that God was loving and beautiful and desired

that individuals should love Him eternally. Men though distinct from God had this light within them and were formed after His own image. The aim of the individual was to love God and ultimately to annihilate himself in the personality of God. They laid stress upon love and sincere devotion and prescribed certain practices for spiritual progress. These could be followed by Hindus and Muslims alike. The Sufis were of various types. Some observed the ceremonial of Islam while others regarded it as meaningless and looked upon love as the sole means of realising God.

The orders founded by Muslim saints did much to foster goodwill among the two peoples. The most famous of these were the Chishtiya, Shuhrwardia, Shattari, Qādiri and the Naqshabandi. The first was founded by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer fame and had a large number of disciples. Some of the saints who were widely honoured in the country were Shaikh Salim Chishti, Mian Mir and Sarmad who counted among their disciples men and women of royal birth.

Among the Hindus there were three groups of saints:—

(1) The intellectuals like Kabir who combined knowledge with devotion as a means of securing salvation; (2) the Krishnite Vaishnavas like Chaitanya and Surdas who preached love and devotion to a personal and loving God; (3) the Vaishnavas of the Ramite school who laid stress upon the service of God regarded as father and king and noted for his justice and benevolence. Among these Tulsidas was the most important.

All these Sufi and Hindu saints believed in one God and looked upon the various religions as roads whereby to approach Him. They emphasised the importance of guru (teacher) and recommended meditation, prayer and self-purification by getting rid of all the baser vices to which man is subject as a means of securing salvation. They offered their teaching to all and sought no converts. They held forth the ideal of a simple, quiet and devout life and preached the

equality of all men irrespective of caste, rank or birth. Religion, they declared, should bring peace and harmony with it and elevate the character of its followers. Selfishness, hypocrisy, ignorance and bigotry are the greatest enemies of religion and must be discarded if man wishes to realise the truth. These teachings brought about communal concord and fostered a spirit of equality and brotherhood among the members of the various faiths.

To this result the policy of the Mughal emperors contributed in no small measure. Intermarriage and religious tolerance softened the rigidity of Islam and when Akbar openly adopted Hindu beliefs and practices, he was hailed as the Messiah of a new age. Jahangir continued his father's liberal policy. Dara was a lover of Hindu religion and philosophy and desired to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. Many Hindu practices entered into Muslim society and both communities adopted the ways of life and habits of each other.

India was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as now a land of villages and her staple industry was agriculture. The villages were self-sufficing units. Their needs were simple; they produced all the articles necessary for the maintenance and comfort of the rural population. The methods of agriculture were primitive and the implements used old-fashioned. The non-agricultural products were minerals, salt, sugar, opium, indigo and liquor. Tobacco-cultivation was introduced later and by Jahangir's time the habit of smoking tobacco had become wide spread. Opium was cultivated in Malwa and Behar and indigo at Biyana and other places. The wages of workmen were fixed by custom. The industries were financed by middlemen who thoroughly exploited the workmen and artisans. The principal crafts were the manufacture of wooden articles, chests, stools, leather goods, paper and pottery. Silk-weaving was not much

Economic
Conditions.

patronised as the demand for silk was growing less. Carpet-weaving was a flourishing industry and competed successfully with the stuff imported from Persia.

The towns were large centres of trade especially in cotton goods. The textiles and various other cotton fabrics were manufactured at Benares, Agra, Malwa and certain other places. Muslin of very fine quality was produced in Dacca and was sent to foreign countries. The patronage of the court gave a great stimulus to the growth of industries and workmen, artisans, bankers, jewellers and merchants from all parts of the country came to these towns to find a scope for their talent. With the increase of wealth and population the towns also became centres of culture, and poets, artists, musicians and literary men came to settle in them and found occupation with the wealthier classes.

Besides satisfying her own needs, India supplied the east-coast of Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Burma and Malacca with her cotton cloth. Foreign merchants came to her coasts and carried on a brisk trade. The principal ports were those of Cambay, Surat, Broach and certain others in Bengal and on the Malabar coast. The chief exports were textiles, pepper, indigo, opium and other drugs while the imports included bullion, horses, raw silk, metals, ivory, coral, precious stones, perfumes, china goods, European wines and African slaves. Commercial skill and business capacity were not wanting among Indians and during the years 1619—70 there was at Surat a merchant named Virji Vorā who controlled the whole trade of Surat and was looked upon as the richest man in the world. But the merchants were sometimes greatly hampered by the tyranny of the local governors.

The economic system of Mughal India was defective in several respects. The consumer and the producer were far apart from each other. The producer was a poor artisan with no status while the consumer was an official who possessed

great influence and dignity. There were no banks and no credit facilities. Extravagance was encouraged by the law of the state by which the goods of an official passed to the state after his death. The masses were hard hit in times of famine and found it difficult to get even a bare subsistence.

The means of communication in Mughal India were very inadequate. They checked the free passage of goods from one part of the country to another. There were no metalled roads or railways. Bullock-carts and animals were used as means of transport. Some of the rivers were navigated and were used as highways of commerce. It was impossible for the different parts of the country to come in close contact with one another or to co-operate in production. The result of this was that the unity of the country was checked and the feeling of separatism continued to exist.

During the Mughal period a number of European Foreign
travellers visited India who have left valuable accounts of the Accounts
court, the country and the people. The earliest to arrive of India.
were the Jesuits who visited Akbar's court, took part in religious discussions and hoped to convert the emperor to Christianity. They were granted permission to build a church at Agra and were treated with great kindness. During the reign of Jahangir Captain William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe came to Agra as ambassadors from the court of England to seek permission to establish trade factories in India. Roe's journal describes the life at court and the administration of the country. We get interesting glimpses of the life of the common people in the account of Pelsaret, a Dutch merchant, who was in India in Jahangir's reign. He speaks of the wealth of the country and the oppressions of the provincial governors and revenue collectors. The artisans were ill-paid and lived in a miserable condition. Their houses were built of mud with thatched roofs. They had no furniture except a few earthen vessels for cooking and keeping water. The petty shopkeepers were

better off than the peasants and artisans but they were badly treated by the officers and nobles to whom they had to supply goods at a cheaper rate. The killing of cows and oxen was forbidden by Jahangir on pain of death. Pelsaret writes: 'The king maintains this rule to please the Hindu Rajas and banians, who regard the cow as one of the most veritable gods or sacred things.'

More important than these were the French travellers Tavernier and Bernier who visited India in the seventeenth century. Tavernier was a jeweller. He writes about the wealth of the emperor, the Taj and the peacock throne. Bernier lived for twelve years in India and came in contact with the nobles as well as the common people. According to him agriculture had declined, the artisans were in distress and the provincial governors oppressed the people. The army was large and a lot of money was spent on it. The judges were not given sufficient authority to deal with those who harassed the poor people. The province of Bengal was rich and fertile. The prices were cheap and all kinds of goods were found in abundance. Cotton and silk were produced in large quantities and sent to Asiatic countries and Europe.

The most interesting foreigner who combines fact with gossip is Manucci, the famous Italian, who lived for a long time in India. He speaks of the wealth of the emperor and the nobles but adds that the artisans and peasants were poor and miserable. Much of what Manucci writes is unreliable.

THE ADVENT OF EUROPEANS IN INDIA

India had intercourse with the Western world from very ^{The} ancient times but after Alexander's invasion the Europeans had ^{Portuguese} ceased to come in large numbers. When Columbus discovered America in 1492 the Portuguese also felt a desire to explore other lands. Six years later Vasco da Gama doubled round the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut in 1498 where he entered into negotiations about trade with the Zamorin. The Portuguese defeated the Arabs who then held a monopoly of the Indian trade and established themselves on the sea-coast. Their governor Almeida who came in 1505 fortified the settlements and his successor Albuquerque captured Goa in 1510 and made it the capital of Portuguese possessions in India.

Albuquerque (1509—15) was an able and ambitious governor. He captured Malacca in 1511 and established settlements in the islands of Ceylon, Sacotra and Hurmuz. He was the first man to grasp the policy of extending the Portuguese empire in the east and guarding it by a large fleet. He built forts and strategical points and suggested colonisation of the country by forcing marriages between the Portuguese and the Indians especially Muslims. But he was a bigoted Christian. He intensely hated the Muhammadans and compelled them to accept the Christian faith. Except for his religious intolerance his administration was sound and efficient. He employed the Hindus in his service and established schools for the education of Indians and tried to stop the practice of *Sati*. After his death he was succeeded by corrupt and incapable governors who could not maintain the power which he had founded. In 1580 when the Crowns of Portugal and

Spain were united, the Portuguese lost their supremacy in the east and nothing was left to them except Goa, Daman and Diu.

The chief cause of Portuguese failure was that they allowed trade to be carried on by Government officials who cared more for their own profits and comforts. They were hostile to the Musalmans and fomented quarrels between them and the Hindus. Their religious intolerance and desire to gain converts to Christianity made the people suspicious about their motives and created many enemies for them. Their piratical habits were also injurious to their trade. Lastly, the hostility of the Protestant powers seriously hampered their progress in the east and when Holland and England entered the field, the Portuguese found it impossible to withstand their attacks successfully.

The lucrative Indian trade attracted the attention of the other European powers. The Dutch, who were a great commercial and sea-faring nation, founded a company in 1601 to trade with the east and acquired a hold on the Indian littoral in the 17th century. They competed fiercely with the English for the profits of trade and formed alliances with the native powers. Attempts were made to bring about a compromise between the two companies but without success. A proposal to unite them fell through owing to the unwillingness of the English. The two nations continued to fight until in July, 1619, peace was made through the direct intervention of the Crown. The Dutch in the east did not like the treaty and frankly disapproved of it. They expelled the English from Lantor and Pulo Run (1621-22) and a year later (1623) perpetrated the massacre of Amboyna, which greatly exasperated English public opinion. No action was taken against the Dutch until 1654 when Cromwell made certain peace arrangements by which they were compelled to pay a heavy indemnity of £85,000 to the company and a large sum of money for the

victims of Amboyna. Peace did not last long, and the Dutch had to fight against England and France both in India and Europe and the result of these wars was highly unfavourable to them. The Dutch position remained secure in the Malay Archipelago but they lost their possessions in India and had to give up most of their factories.

The failure of the Dutch was due to three causes. Their company was closely connected with the state and its interests were subordinated to political considerations in Europe. Secondly, the profits of trade in spices drew them away from the path of dominion. Thirdly, the wars in Europe decided their fate in India. Their struggle with England and France exhausted their resources and made their position quite untenable in the east.

The victory of England over the Spanish Armada in 1588 gave a great impetus to her commercial enterprise. In 1600 some London merchants formed themselves into a company to trade with the East Indies and obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth. In 1608 Captain Hawkins reached Jahangir's court with a view to obtain a *farman* for establishing a factory at Surat. But this was afterwards revoked at the instance of the Portuguese. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe waited upon Jahangir as an ambassador from James I, King of England, and by his tact and diplomacy he succeeded in securing permission to build factories. Surat now became the centre of English trade. In 1633 a factory was built at Masulipatam and in 1640 the foundation of Madras was laid and Fort St. George was built. The Company had to face great difficulties at the time owing to the war between the King and Parliament in England. Its position improved with the Restoration when in 1661 Charles II granted the Company a new charter by which it obtained the right to coin money, erect fortifications, exercise jurisdiction over English subjects residing in the east and to make peace or war with non-Christian powers. In 1668 the Company

The
English
East India
Company.

acquired possession of the town of Bombay from Charles II who had received it as a dowry at the time of his marriage with the Portuguese princess in 1661. In the east coast also the Company built several factories. In 1651 a factory was established at Hugli and in 1686 Job Charnock tried to establish a settlement at the place where Calcutta now stands, but he was turned out by Shayasta Khan, the Mughal governor of Bengal. So far the Company had confined itself to trade but a change came over its policy in 1686 when Josia Child became the governor of the factory at Surat. As the Mughal empire was in a state of decline, the Company developed political ambitions and began to think of ways and means to stop the tyranny of the Mughals and Marathas. This brought it into conflict with the empire. Aurangzeb was exasperated by the impudence of foreign traders. He declared war upon them and seized the factories at Patna, Cassimbazar, Masulipatam and Vizagapatam. War began on the west coast also. The factory at Surat was captured and Aurangzeb issued a *farman* that the English should be turned out of his dominions. At last the Company sought forgiveness of the emperor and a peace was made in 1690. The Mughal government exacted £17,000 as indemnity and warned the Company to behave with becoming dignity in future. Job Charnock was allowed to return to Hugli and on the piece of land granted to him he founded a small settlement which afterwards grew into the city of Calcutta.

The Company had to encounter serious difficulties in England at this time. Its power and privileges aroused much opposition and a committee was appointed to enquire into its affairs. But Josia Child bribed the ministers and obtained a fresh charter in 1693. A rival Company was founded in 1693 and the two began to quarrel at once for the monopoly of the Indian trade. The quarrel dragged on for ten years and when peace was made the two Companies were amalgamated in 1703.

The new Company came to be called the United East India Company.

After Aurangzeb's death the Company had a conflict again with the governor of Bengal who did not allow it to carry on trade duty-free. In 1715 two representatives of the Company waited upon the court at Delhi and secured fresh privileges through the help of William Hamilton, an English surgeon, who had cured emperor Farrukhsiyer of a dangerous illness. The Company was granted certain villages near Calcutta and Madras and its status was formally recognised. It was a great step forward. The English now clearly saw the weakness of the Mughals and realised that the emperor before whom the governor of Fort William had 'rubbed his forehead on the ground' was a mere puppet in the hands of his powerful ministers.

Following the example of other countries France organised companies to trade with the East Indies. In 1642 Richelieu founded three companies but they collapsed after some time owing to official and ecclesiastical interference. During the reign of Louis XIV his minister Colbert founded another company in 1664 which had three objects in view—the establishment of political power, the strengthening of the Crown and the spread of Christianity. Ten years later Francis Martin laid the foundations of Pondichery and built a factory at Chandranagar. The company suffered great reverses during the European war between Holland and France. But it was reconstituted in 1720 and henceforward its affairs were managed by highly capable and ambitious governors. Mauritius was occupied in 1721 and Mahe on the Malabar Coast in 1724. Dumas (1735—41) who saw the chaotic condition of the Deccan interfered in politics, and by giving help to the Raja of Tanjore in the war of succession obtained Karikal from him. Further gains followed and the prestige of the French considerably increased. In 1742 when Dupleix became

The
French
East
India
Company.

Significance
of European
Advent
in India.

governor of Pondichery the French Company entered upon a new career of conquest and political adventure.

With the coming of the Europeans the middle ages of India came to an end. So far her history had been a record of dynasties which rose or fell according to the capacity of their rulers. More often they disappeared from history because of internal degeneracy and decay. The Europeans were different from the Muslims. They were representatives of nations brought up in the atmosphere of freedom, living under modern systems of government. As free citizens they acted in the spirit of freedom like the agents of self-governing communities bound by the ties of nationality and patriotism. Some of them were grossly selfish but the great majority were devoted to the interests of their country, and were prepared to lay down their lives in its service. Their example fostered new hopes and aspirations among the Indians. The habit of slavishly adhering to old customs and traditions was weakened by their presence and a spirit of criticism was generated. Their rational outlook, their intelligent and progressive methods of government, their scientific attitude of mind and their social freedom gave them a superiority over the crowd of Indians who had neither unity nor love of country. The institutions which they founded made a considerable improvement upon the existing system of government and by their reforms they won the sympathies of the people. Arts and sciences made progress and the history of India under them, though not wholly free from blame, is a record of continued enlightenment and progress of the people.

Chronological Summary

			A.D.
Discovery of America by Columbus	...	...	1492
Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut	...	...	1498

A.D. °

Almeida was appointed governor of Portuguese possessions	...	...	...	1505
Capture of Goa by Albuquerque	...	...	...	1510
Capture of Malacca	...	...	...	1511
Union of Portugal and Spain	...	...	...	1580
Foundation of the English East India Company	...	...	...	1600
Foundation of the Dutch East India Company	...	...	...	1601
Captain Hawkins at Jahangir's court	...	...	...	1608
Sir Thomas Roe's visit to Jahangir's court	...	...	...	1615
Massacre of Amboyna	...	...	...	1623
Foundation of Madras	...	...	...	1640
Peace between the English and the Dutch	...	...	...	1654
Charles II's Charter	...	...	...	1661
Foundation of the French East India Company	...	...	...	1664
Acquisition of Bombay	...	...	...	1668
Job Charnock turned out of Calcutta by Shayasta Khan	...	...	...	1686
Peace between the Company and the Mughals	...	...	...	1699
Amalgamation of the two English Companies	...	...	...	1708
Mauritius occupied by the French	...	...	...	1721
Mahe occupied by the French	...	...	...	1724
Dupleix becomes governor of Pondichery	...	...	...	1743

CHAPTER XXIX

ANGLO-FRENCH WARS (1744—63)

Rise of Halder Ali

Position
of the two
companies.

The English and the French companies were founded with the object of securing the profits of Indian trade. But as the power of the Mughal empire declined, they developed political ambitions and came into sharp conflict with each other. In 1744 the English company was stronger than the French. It was wealthier and better organised and its settlements were far superior to those of its rival. It was a private body which did not depend upon the state for support, and its directors were influential men, many of whom were members of Parliament and exercised much influence on the policy of the government. The French company, on the other hand, could never do without state aid, and on account of official interference its business was always sluggish. Its directors were nominated by the Crown and did not take much interest in Indian trade. Great efforts were made by Dumas and Dupleix to improve the position of the Company but there is no doubt that towards the middle of the eighteenth century the resources of the English in India were far greater than those of the French and they were in a better position to achieve success in the political field.

First War
(1749—48).

The hostilities between the two nations in Europe brought about war in India also. La Bourdonnais, the French Commander, was asked to assume the offensive in 1740 but he did not reach Pondichery until July, 1746. He attacked Madras which surrendered after a feeble resistance. But the quarrel between the French Admiral and Dupleix hampered the pro-

gress of operations for some time. After his departure Dupleix seized Madras and prepared for an attack on Fort St. David. This, however, failed owing to the bravery of Stringer Lawrence. When the peace of Aix la Chapelle was made in Europe in 1748, the war in India also came to an end. Madras was restored to the English.

Though neither side obtained a victory, the war had important consequences. It made the two nations familiar with the country a hundred miles round their settlements and enabled them to form an idea of the weakness of the native powers. They discovered that they could turn the quarrels of the latter to their account and derive much advantage from the employment of trained European troops against them. Dupleix, who was well acquainted with Indian conditions, clearly saw the value of European methods of war and discipline and began seriously to think of taking part in politics. The death of Asafjah Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748 gave him the desired opportunity.

The Nizam, who had virtually become independent, died in 1748. His throne was contested by his second son Nasir Jang and grandson Muzaffar Jang who joined hands with Chanda Sahib, a candidate for the Nawabship of the Carnatic, against the ruling Nawab Anwaruddin. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib sought the help of the French and Dupleix at once agreed to comply with their request. He thought that by doing so he would be able to establish his influence in the Carnatic and at Haiderabad. In this he merely followed the example of the English who had previously interfered in a succession dispute at Tanjore. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib, with their combined forces, fell upon Anwaruddin who was defeated and killed in the battle of Amber in 1749. His son Muhammad Ali fled to Trichnopoly and sought the help of the English. Chanda Sahib became Nawab of the Carnatic and showed his gratitude to the French by granting them 80 villages.

Second
War
(1748—54).

Nāsir Jang marched against Muzaffar Jang who surrendered to him but he was soon afterwards assassinated (December, 1750) and Muzaffar Jang was made Subadar of the Deccan. A French contingent was placed at Haiderabad to help him. He granted to the French certain towns and a large sum of money. Dupleix also received a Jagir and assumed the title of governor of all South India from the Krishna to Cape Comorin. His prestige increased enormously and he assumed the state and even the dress of an Indian Prince. Muzaffar Jang was escorted by the French General Bussy to his capital but he was killed in a skirmish. Bussy set aside the claims of all his sons and elevated to the *gaddi* Salabat Jang, the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He remained for seven years to strengthen his power at Haiderabad.

Chanda Sahib and the French had begun the siege of Trichnopoly. Muhammad Ali was so far feebly supported by the English. But now they realised that he should be helped effectively. When Trichnopoly was about to fall, Clive, a young commander in the Company's service, suggested that the fort of Arcot, an important possession of the Nawab of the Carnatic, should be captured. This would oblige Chanda Sahib to send a part of his army for the relief of Arcot and Trichnopoly would be saved. Clive made a daring march to Arcot and heroically stood the siege for 50 days and defeated his opponents. Trichnopoly was relieved and Chanda Sahib surrendered to the Tanjore general who put him to death.

Muhammad Ali became Nawab of the Carnatic. It was this disaster which contributed not a little to the recall of Dupleix. In 1754 he was recalled and Godehu was appointed in his place. A treaty was made by which equal privileges were given to the English and the French in the Carnatic. But before the treaty was ratified the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe.

Bussy was well fitted by his talents for the task with which he was entrusted. He was a skilled diplomatist who thought that gentleness was better than severity and human life more important than the laurels of victory. He was a man of resolute temper and acted boldly in difficult situations. He had the rare gift of going to the heart of things and accomplished his task without giving offence. He obtained from the Nizam the Northern Circars for the support of his troops. In 1758 Bussy was recalled and with his departure French influence at Haiderabad came to an end.

Bussy at
Haiderabad.

It is agreed on all hands that Dupleix's motives in his action in India were very high. He was unselfish and patriotic and always tried to promote the glory of his country. He excelled in diplomacy and by its aid detached the Marathas and Mysore from the English. He had an intimate knowledge of Indian politics and found in the Deccan a good field for the exercise of his ambition. He loved pomp and power and his assumption of the title of the Nawab of the Carnatic was a great blunder. He was harsh in his dealings with his subordinates and laid the entire blame at their door when they failed.

Character
and policy
of Dupleix.

It is said by some that he was the first to conceive the scheme of a European dominion in India. But this view is challenged by modern writers who hold that he had no political plan before 1750. He posted Bussy at Haiderabad in the hope that the new Nawab would favour French trade and his subordinate officials would not interfere with the goods intended for the French settlement. He wanted large territories near Pondichery not for dominion but for revenue.

His failure in the Carnatic was due to several causes. He supported Chanda Sahib and Muzaffarjang without consulting the Company for he knew that the latter would not allow him to plunge into the politics of the country. The

lack of finances was a great handicap. He needed money to maintain his army but he failed to get sufficient revenue. He was over-confident of his success and never saw the possibility of failure. The Company at home did not give him adequate support nor did they favour his Indian schemes. What they wanted was peace and Dupleix's four years of



Dupleix.

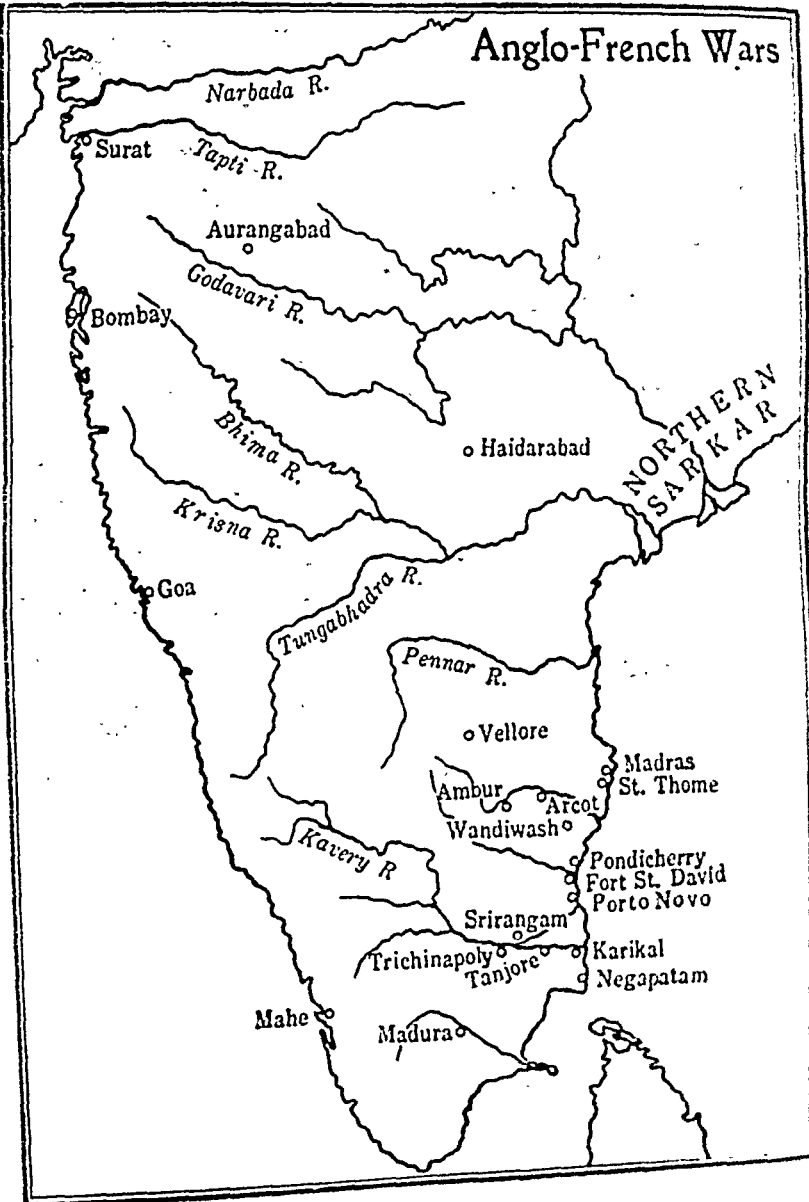
warfare had failed to bring it. Besides, the Indian problem was relegated to the background for the moment by the American dispute between the English and the French.

Despite his failure Dupleix will ever remain a brilliant figure in Indian history. His plans were bold, and if they had succeeded, the French would have taken the place of the English

in India. His greatness has never been doubted even by his adversaries. The power of the French which he built up and the fear in which he was held by the English are a fair measure of his political genius.

After four years' peace the English and the French resumed hostilities again in India when the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe in 1756. It was a favourable opportunity for the French for the English were at this time in great trouble in Bengal, and Clive with his best troops had gone there to defend their interests. But the French com-

Anglo-French Wars



mander Lally came too late and by the time of his arrival (1758) the position of the English had considerably improved in Bengal after the battle of Plassey.

Lally was a brave but headstrong soldier who could not act in co-operation with other officers. He first captured Fort St. David but his attack on Madras failed owing to the divisions in his own camp. He recalled Bussy from Haiderabad where he could have been very useful in maintaining the French position. Lally was much hampered by the mutiny of his troops. He had no money and his relations with the governor of Pondichery were entirely unsatisfactory. Though the French fleet was superior to that of the English, it was driven back leaving Pondichery to its fate. In 1760 Lally was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at the battle of Wandewash and Bussy was taken prisoner. Pondichery surrendered next year and Lally was sent as a prisoner to England, where he was released and allowed to go to France. He was tried and condemned to death.

The treaty of Paris in 1763 closed the Seven Years' War. The French position was seriously weakened by its arrangements. Their army was limited and they were not allowed to enter Bengal except as traders. Muhammad Ali became Nawab of the Carnatic. At Haiderabad the French influence came to an end and Salabat Jang was murdered by his brother Nizam Ali. The Northern Circars passed into the hands of the English whose title to them was legalised in 1765 by a *farman* from the Mughal emperor.

The success of the English in the political struggle was due to several causes. The commercial and financial position of the English company was much better than that of its rival. The French company was a state concern; its proprietors took no interest in its development and consequently it suffered from lack of initiative and enterprise. The English company was well managed; it gave large loans to

Third War
(1756-63)

Causes of
the success
of the
English.

government and its Directors exercised no small amount of influence on public policy. The state of France cared more for European wars than for colonial and mercantile interests. Even when the war was going on, the English paid full attention to their commerce and added to their resources by the acquisition of Bengal. The French neglected their trade and wasted large sums of money on their wars without making any gains. From the military point of view on the English side there were capable and devoted soldiers like Clive and Lawrence, while the French officers quarrelled among themselves and were incapable of co-ordinating their efforts. By the conquest of Bengal the English obtained a good base of operations while the French base at Mauritius was far off from India. Lastly, the mastery of the English at sea gave them a great advantage over the French. So long as the sea was under their control, it was impossible for any nation to make territorial acquisitions in India.

After the break-up of the Vijaynagar empire in 1565 the country of Mysore passed under the rule of the Wodeyar dynasty. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the dynasty became effete and its power was usurped by a capable military leader whose name was Haider Ali. He came of a foreign Muhammadan family which had migrated to the south. He was born in 1722. His father was an officer in the Mysore army and so was his brother. He secured the minister's favour by organising a well-trained contingent of troops and in 1755 was appointed Faujdar of Dindigal. Later he received Bangalore in Jagir and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces. He lost his position for a short period but quickly regained his influence and in 1763 he conquered Bednur. The death of the Raja three years later gave him the opportunity of increasing his power, and though he formally set up a puppet king, he himself controlled the authority of the state.

The relations of the English with the Indian powers in the Deccan were somewhat difficult at the time. The Nawab of the Carnatic was their ally. Mysore, the Marathas and the Nizam were contending for mastery among themselves. They were sometimes friendly to the English and sometimes hostile to them. In 1765 the Madras Council entered into an alliance with the Nizam and promised to help him against Haider Ali and the Marathas. A short time after the treaty the Marathas attacked Mysore but Haider Ali bribed them to retire.

The Madras Council had foolishly embarked on a dangerous and costly war. The Nizam intrigued with the Marathas and Haider Ali who dangled before his eyes the bait of the Carnatic. Colonel Smith, the British General, who came to assist the Nizam, was bewildered to find that the Nizam's forces were ready to fight against the English. Nevertheless he pressed on and defeated the combined forces at Changama and Trinomali in 1767. The Madras Council again made peace with the Nizam with the result that Haider Ali was deeply offended. War with him continued. In 1769 he reached up to the walls of Madras and compelled the English to sign a humiliating peace. All conquests made by either side were given up and the British promised to help Haider Ali if he were attacked by another power. In 1771 the Marathas invaded Mysore, and when Haider asked for help, it was not given. This breach of faith filled him with wrath and made him a deadly enemy of the English.

Chronological Summary

			A.D.
Birth of Haider Ali	...	...	1722
Treaty of Aix la Chapelle	...	...	1748
Death of Asaf Jha Nizam-ul-mulk	...	...	1748

			A.D.
Battle of Amber	---	---	... 1749
Murder o. Nasir Jang	...	---	... 1750
Recall of Dupleix	---	---	... 1754
Haider Ali becomes Faujdar of Dindigal	---	---	... 1755
Lally's arrival in India	...	---	... 1758
Recall of Bussy from Haiderabad	---	---	... 1758
Battle of Wandewash	...	---	... 1760
Treaty of Paris	---	---	... 1763
Haider Ali's conquest of Bednur	---	---	... 1763
Battles of Chaugama and Trinomali	---	---	... 1767
Haider's attack on Madras	---	---	... 1769
Maratha invasion of Mysore	---	---	... 1771

THE FALL OF THE NAWABI IN BENGAL AND AFTER (1757—67)

While the English and the French were fighting for Alivardi's mastery in the Deccan, a great revolution was going on in Khan Bengal. This was the fall of the Nawabi and the establishment of the power of the English. The province of Bengal was a part of the Mughal empire and its governors were appointed from Delhi. In the year 1701 a Brahmana convert to Islam named Murshid Quli Khan became Dewan of Bengal. He was jealous of the English and the latter to safeguard their position obtained a new *farman* from the emperor in 1717. After his death in 1725 he was succeeded



Murshid Quli Khan.

by his son but the latter was deposed by his favourite Alivardi Khan who became governor of Bengal in 1741. Alivardi Khan was a capable man. He resisted the Maratha attacks successfully although he had to cede Orissa and make a payment of 12 lakhs to them. The Europeans who had

established themselves in Bengal were the English, the French and the Dutch with their settlements at Calcutta, Chandranagar and Chinsurah respectively. The English had built Fort William in Bengal under a *farman* from Aurangzeb and Calcutta had become a large town. Alivardi Khan, who was a shrewd man with keen insight into affairs, was suspicious of the English. He knew that he had to assert his authority and resented any attempt made by the English to show their independence. He used to say, "You are merchants. What need have you of a fortress? Being under my protection, you have no enemies to fear." He knew that they might grow dangerous at any moment and compared them to a hive of bees whose honey you might take but if you disturbed their hive, they would sting you to death. Alivardi Khan died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandnephew Mirza Muhammad better known in history as Sirajudowlah who was only 23 years of age at this time.

The new Nawab was distrustful of the English from the very outset. Indeed some are of opinion that Alivardi Khan had on his death-bed warned him of the danger from Europeans. Fearing an outbreak of war in Europe, the English and the French began to fortify their settlements. The Nawab asked them to desist. The French obeyed but the English replied in an insolent manner and refused to carry out his command.

Besides these were other causes of friction between the Nawab and the English. They had treated him with scant regard and had abused the trade privileges granted to them by the *farman* of 1717. They had given shelter to the refugees from the Nawab's injustice and refused to surrender them when called upon to do so. The Nawab feared lest the English should do what they had done in the Carnatic. Their settlements were the richest and largest and they were growing restless under his new trade restrictions. He judged their

expulsion from Bengal to be necessary in his own interest. The English were further encouraged in their defiant attitude by the political and economic condition of the province. The Nawab's government was not liked by the Hindus especially the families of Seths. Disgusted by his treatment they joined hands with the British traders to bring about his overthrow.

The Nawab was offended at the insolent reply of the English. He seized the factory of Kasimbazar and marched upon Calcutta. The governor and the Commander with several others fled, leaving the garrison to its fate. Holwell, an ex-surgeon, who was elected to the command, held out for two days but in the end surrendered. It is said that 146 prisoners were shut up in a small cell now known as the Black Hole in the month of June and when the door was opened next morning only 23 came out alive. Even European writers admit that the Nawab knew nothing about it. Some Indian scholars are of opinion that the tragedy of the Black Hole is a pure myth. There is no mention of it in contemporary records nor is there a word about compensation to the injured in the treaties concluded afterwards with Mirjafar. The sufferings of the Black Hole were greatly exaggerated by Holwell to excite the indignation of his countrymen.

When the news of this disaster reached Madras, the governor at once sent Clive and Watson to Bengal at the head of a force consisting of 900 English men and 1,500 Indian soldiers. They recovered Calcutta and marched up to the Hugli. An indecisive engagement was fought with the Nawab's troops after which a treaty was concluded by which the Company's privileges were restored. (Clive acted with great caution.) He did not say a word about the sufferers of the Black Hole owing to the fear of the French who were quite willing to enter into an alliance with the Nawab. Admiral Watson then marched to Chandranagar and captured

The Black
Hole
incident.

Clive in
Bengal.

it. The Nawab, who was frightened by Ahmadshah Abdali's sack of Delhi (January, 1757), kept his friendship with the English and did nothing to help their French rivals.

Clive had already decided to overthrow the Nawab and he was only waiting for a favourable opportunity. At the court of Sirajudowlah a conspiracy was formed by his leading officers among whom was included Mirjafar, the Bakhshi of the army and a brother-in-law of Alivardi Khan. These men opened negotiations with the British through Amin Chand, a Sikh merchant, who demanded as his commission 5 per cent of all that was found in the treasury and one-fourth of the jewels. He threatened to disclose the whole thing, if his demand was not complied with. Clive hit upon a plan to deceive Amin Chand. Two drafts of the treaty with Mir Jafar were prepared—one on red paper and the other on white. The real draft was on white paper in which there was no mention of the commission to Amin Chand. The red draft was false and was meant to deceive him. Watson refused to sign the false draft but Clive forged his signature and carried out the plan with complete success. Clive defended the transaction but it will always remain a blot on his memory. Mir Jafar was promised the Nawabship of Bengal and in return he was to restore all the privileges of the English, to pay one crore as indemnity and grant the Zamindari of 24 Parganas. By a private arrangement large sums of money were to be paid to Clive and other officers and members of the Council.

The plot being ripe, Clive wrote a letter to Sirajudowlah in which he charged him with the violation of the treaty and with carrying on correspondence with the French. When he received no answer from the Nawab, he marched to Plassey, a famous grove 23 miles south of Murshidabad, where Sirajudowlah had already collected 50,000 men. On the 23rd of June at midday the famous battle of Plassey was fought in

conspiracy
inst the
Nawab.



Balcher

Malpur

Sonar Donga

Mogera

Nawab's branch camp

Ramnagar

Kirlah

Bhagirathi River

Grove of
Mango Trees

French
Mir Asadun

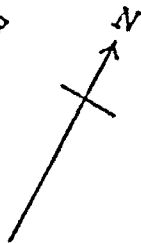
Rajah Dulab Khan

Yar Lute
Khan
Mirjafar

Village of Plassey

Baksar

Battle of Plassey



which the Nawab's forces were completely routed. Sirajudowlah was captured and put to death by Miran, son of Mir Jafar. Mir Jafar was elevated to the *masnad*.

Plassey cannot rank as a great military feat. It was a mere rout. In fact it was a struggle between cunning and intrigue on the one hand and unwary incompetence on the other. The English succeeded largely because of Clive's methods and the treachery of the Nawab's officers. They were the first to break the treaty and plotted in secrecy to deprive the Nawab of his authority. Politically the battle produced far-reaching consequences. It made the English masters of Bengal and placed the vast resources of the province at their disposal. The Nawab was a creature in their hands whom they vexed and worried by their persistent demands. It was the wealth of Bengal which enabled the English to obtain success against the French in South India.

Mir Jafar now became the Nawab of Bengal. He was sternly asked to fulfil the terms of the treaty. Clive was liberally paid and so were the other members of the Council. The total amount paid was about 2½ millions. The Nawab's authority was merely nominal; the power behind the throne was Clive. He adopted the policy of protecting the prominent Hindus who had assisted him in bringing about the revolution. In 1759 Prince Ali Gauhar afterwards known as Shah Alam II invaded Behar and Bengal with the help of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and laid siege to Patna. Clive marched at the head of a small force to meet the Prince and he withdrew into Oudh. Mir Jafar showed his gratitude to Clive by granting him a Jagir which yielded £30,000 a year. It was wrong of Clive to make these gains for himself especially when he knew that the Nawab was not in a position to refuse his demands. The Company was also to blame for it allowed the payments to be continued for some years and expressed no disapproval of the actions of its agents.

Importance
of
Plassey.

Mir Jafar
as Nawab.

✱

Clive now used his position to humble his opponents. Mir Jafar, tired of the tutelage of the English, opened correspondence with the Dutch and they offered to help him. Clive gathered all his forces and defeated them in November, 1759. The Dutch submitted, admitted their mistakes and paid damages. No European nation was now left to oppose the English. For reasons of health Clive returned to England in February, 1760.

Mir Jafar was beset with difficulties from the moment he was raised to the *masnad*. He could not satisfy the rapacity of the members of the Council nor could he build up an efficient administration. The English enjoyed power without responsibility and placed obstacles in his way. The Hindu officers were prone to treachery and desired the fall of their master. The income of the Nawab had considerably fallen; his treasury was empty and he was unable to pay large sums of money to the company's officers. Finding him in a hopeless condition, the Bengal Council deposed him and raised to the Nawabship his son-in-law Mir Kasim who was an able and ambitious man. It was a clear breach of faith but the company's servants were determined to make personal gains by every possible means. From Mir Kasim they obtained the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong and the members of Council accepted £200,000 for themselves. Bribery and private trade went hand in hand and the servants of the company, devoid of scruple and honour, cared only to enrich themselves at the expense of their masters.

Mir Kasim was an administrator of great ability who was fully acquainted with the condition of Bengal. He resolved to set matters right and tried to strengthen his position. He recruited soldiers from foreign countries and appointed Samru, a German adventurer, as his commander. He removed his capital from Murshidabad to Mungher and tried to make himself independent of the English. Like his

Mir
Kasim
and the
English.

predecessor he found it difficult to meet the demands of the British officers for money and a quarrel soon arose between him and the English over the question of internal trade. The imperial *farmans* had allowed the Company to carry on trade free of transit duties. Afterwards the Company's servants also claimed this privilege in their private trade and their demand was conceded by Mir Jafar. The English traded in such articles as salt, betel, and tobacco without paying any duty. *Dastaks* were issued by them to show that the goods belonged to the Company's servants but they were often given to *gumastas* to make illicit gains. The result was that the Nawab's revenue declined and his subjects began to suffer from the English monopoly. He complained to the Bengal Council of the misconduct of their servants but no redress could be obtained. Then in great wrath he abolished all duties and deprived the English of their monopoly. The attitude of the Council was so unreasonable that war broke out between the English and the Nawab. Mir Kasim was defeated and deposed and Mir Jafar was once again made Nawab. He was forced to grant the privileges which his predecessor had refused. Mir Kasim threatened to massacre the English at Patna. His order was carried out by Samru who captured Ellis and 200 others and massacred them in cold blood. This is known as the Massacre of Patna.

Mir Kasim allied himself with the Mughal emperor and the Nawab Wazir of Oudh against the English. With their combined forces numbering 40,000 to 60,000 they reached Buxar where they were defeated on the 23rd October, 1764, by Major Munro who had under his command a force consisting of 7,072 soldiers (857 Europeans) and 20 field pieces. Mir Kasim fought with great courage but he was defeated. His defeat was largely due to the half-hearted support of his allies. Shah Alam came into the English

Battle of
Buxar
1764.

camp and Mir Kasim and the Nawab Wazir fled from the field of battle.

The battle of Buxar completed the work of Plassey. It really laid the foundations of the British power in India. The prestige of the English rose higher particularly because the Mughal emperor and his Wazir were also defeated. Mir Jafar was again made Nawab but he died in 1765 and was succeeded by his son Najmudowlah. The new Nawab was a mere puppet in the hands of the English whose control was fully established over him.

Position
of the
Company
in 1765.

The Company's servants were thoroughly demoralised. They still carried on private trade, received presents and cared nothing for the Company's interests. They made and unmade the Nawabs of Bengal and plunged themselves into a war from which the company could derive no advantage. Clive was appointed for the second time as governor of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief and came out with the full determination to clean the Augean stable.

Clive's
second
governor-
ship
(1765-67).

Clive's work during this period was of a three-fold character—first, the reform of the Company's civil and military services; secondly, the acquisition of the Dewani (the right to collect revenue) of Bengal; thirdly, the adjustment of the Company's relations with foreign powers.

Internal
Reforms.

The first thing which he attempted was to purify the Company's services. Corruption was rife; presents were freely taken; the junior officers were quickly promoted to the higher grades and everybody was anxious to get rich by private trade. Clive stopped this rapid promotion and required the servants of the Company to enter into covenants by which they bound themselves not to accept presents of large value. As the salaries were low, he secured for the superior servants of the Company a monopoly of the trade in salt. A society of trade was formed but it was afterwards abolished by the

orders of the Court of Directors. Clive's military reforms also tended to strengthen the Company's position. He reduced the Nawab's forces and abolished the double *bhatta*. There was some opposition to the latter reforms but Clive did not yield to threats and the officers who wanted to resign were allowed to do so.

Clive settled the relations of the Company with the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Mughal emperor. Vansittart had promised Oudh to the emperor but Clive saw the folly of such a step. By the treaty of Allahabad concluded on August 16, 1765, he restored to the Nawab his possessions except Kara and Allahabad. The Nawab agreed to pay a war indemnity of 50 lakhs to the Company and a defensive alliance was made with him by which the English agreed to provide him with troops for the defence of his frontiers if he paid the cost of maintenance. It was a difficult problem to deal with Shah Alam. He granted to the English much against his wishes the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Clive gave him the districts of Kara and Allahabad for the support of his imperial dignity and a subsidy of 26 lakhs a year. The emperor also granted permission to the Company to hold Clive's jagir when the period of ten years had elapsed. The Dewani brought about an important change in the Company's position. Henceforward the Company had the right to collect the revenue while the Nizamat (military power and criminal justice) was vested in the Nawab. Thus a dual system was set up by Clive which afterwards led to great difficulties. The English enjoyed power without being responsible for the administration.

Clive's health was shattered by overwork and anxiety and he returned to England in 1767. His enemies caused much ill-feeling against him and attacked his integrity. But their attempts failed and the Parliament at last adopted a motion eulogising the great and meritorious services which

Relations
with
foreign
powers.

Clive's
return to
England.

Clive had rendered to his country. In 1774 he ended his life at the age of 50 by committing suicide.

Character
of Clive.

Clive was a man of clear mind, firm will and strong judgment. He was devoted to his country and served it according to his lights.



His bravery in battle, his presence of mind in the face of danger and his capacity for leadership were appreciated even by his enemies. His energy and vigour helped him to found the British empire in India. His personal force accomplished much more than what others could do with far greater material resources. But Clive was devoid of moral scruples.

Clive.

He took presents, broke the Company's rules and used his position to make a large fortune for himself. He forged Watson's signature and declared that he would do it again for the good of his country. In spite of these faults it must be said that he was a sagacious politician and leader who knew how to act in critical moments and to employ his means to the best advantage.

Chronological Summary

		A.D.
Death of Murshid Quli Khan	...	... 1725
Alivardi Khan becomes Governor of Bengal	...	... 1741
'Alivardi Khan's death	...	... 1754
Battle of Plassey	...	... 1757

	A.D.
Mir Jafar becomes Nawab of Bengal ...	1757
Prince Ali Gauhar's invasion of Bengal ...	1759
Clive defeats the Dutch ...	1759
Clive's return to England ...	1760
Mir Kasim becomes Nawab of Bengal ...	1760
Battle of Buxar ...	1764
Death of Mir Jafar ...	1765
Clive becomes Governor of Bengal for the second time ...	1765
Dewan granted to the Company by Shah Alam ...	1765
Clive's return to England ...	1767
Death of Clive ...	1774

THE NEW ORDER IN BENGAL

Warren Hastings (1772—85)

Condition of
Bengal after
Clive's
departure.

After Clive's departure the British affairs in Bengal were managed by two men of ordinary ability, Verelst (1767—69) and Cartier (1770—72). During this period of five years the evils of dual government became clearly manifest. The divided responsibility caused much confusion. As there was little security of tenure, the officers of the Company as well as of the Nawab tried to make as much money as possible. The abuses which Clive had put down with a high hand appeared again and private trade flourished as before. In 1769—70 a terrible famine occurred in Bengal. It caused frightful misery and according to contemporary accounts the living fed upon the dead. The Company's servants bought up rice and sold it at a high price. The revenue was collected with great rigour and many families of farmers and Zamindars were ruined. The profits of the Company declined; her credit was seriously impaired and she stood badly in need of money. The political situation outside Bengal was different from what Clive had left it. The Marathas had recovered from the defeat of Panipat and were advancing into Northern India. The Emperor had left Allahabad and gone to Delhi under their protection. The friendly relations with the Nawab of Oudh were disturbed although there was no rupture.

Warren
Hastings as
Governor of
Bengal
(1772-74).

Warren Hastings had come out as a writer in the East India Company's service in 1750 at the early age of 18 and had acquired considerable experience of Indian affairs. From 1768 to 1772 he was a member of the Madras Council.

In 1772 he was appointed Governor of Bengal and he held this office for two years. He introduced a series of reforms which greatly strengthened the Company's power. The allowance of the Nawab was reduced from 32 to 16 lakhs. The dual system was abolished and the Company decided to be a Diwan in the real sense of the term and to collect the revenues of the province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa through its own agents. The treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta and a Central Board of Revenue was established there. In place of the Naib Dewans, English Collectors were appointed in every district and were responsible for actual collections. The farming system still continued but Hastings introduced a five-year settlement because he found that the yearly system led to much loss and trouble. As the land was given to the highest bidder, the old families of Bengal suffered heavily from this arrangement. In 1777 the annual settlement was revised again by the Court of Directors, although it failed to achieve the object which they had in view. The administration of justice was reorganised. The district courts both civil and criminal were under the Collector. Hastings set up two courts of appeal at Calcutta—the Sadr Diwani Adalat (the Supreme Civil Court) and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat (the Supreme Criminal Court). The former was presided over by the Governor-General and two members of the Council and the latter by a Muhammadan judge.

Hastings wanted to exclude Indians from the administration of justice, and if he had been given a free hand he would have given all authority to English men. Regulations were framed which were to be followed in all courts and the texts of Hindu Law were translated into English. The police force was put in order and dacoits and Sannyasis who kidnapped children were suppressed. A mission was sent to Tibet to open up trade relations with that country.

It cannot be said that Hastings succeeded in completely purifying the administration. The whole system was so full of abuses that it was difficult to remove them, root and branch. Many of these reforms were due to the Directors but it would be unfair on that account to withhold praise from Hastings for he carried out his task with great ability, courage and vigour. It is a pity that power was taken away from him before his work was completed.

Foreign
Policy.

The Emperor Shah Alam was induced by the Marathas to give them the districts of Kara and Allahabad and was escorted to Delhi by Sindhia in the hope of obtaining his ancestral throne. Hastings judged it highly dangerous that the two eastern districts on the frontier of Bengal should be in the hands of the Marathas. He at once stopped the tribute and restored Kara and Allahabad to the Wazir of Oudh who promised to pay to the Company 50 lakhs of rupees. The tribute of 26 lakhs had not been paid since 1769, and this was good reason for the Emperor to doubt the good faith of the English. The treaty of Benares with the Nawab Wazir led to the Rohilla war for which Hastings was afterwards bitterly attacked.

The
Rohilla
War
(1773-74).

The Rohilla War was a grave charge against Hastings and therefore its origin must be closely examined. Rohilkhand was a fertile part of the Doab and was at this time ruled over by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, a Pathan adventurer, who had no better title to his possessions than many others who had carved out of the Mughal empire independent states for themselves. The Marathas raided the frontier of Rohilkhand and created an alarming situation for the Pathan Chief. In 1772 the Rohillas entered into a treaty with the Nawab Wazir at Benares by which it was agreed that the Nawab would help the Rohillas, if the Marathas invaded their country and would receive in return 50 lakhs of rupees. The Marathas invaded Rohilkhand in 1773 but they were

driven back by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh with the help of a British force. The Marathas having retired, the Nawab demanded the promised amount but Hafiz Rahmat put him off on one pretext or another. Then the Nawab asked the English for help in punishing the Rohillas for the breach of treaty obligations. Hastings, who was in sore need of money, agreed to lend him a British force. The combined forces marched into Rohilkhand and defeated the Rohillas at Mirankatra (23rd April, 1774). Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed fighting to the last. The Rohillas numbering 20,000 were forcibly sent into exile and his country was annexed to the dominion of Shuja-ud-dowlah.

Hastings was denounced for this war in the strongest terms. The accounts of Rohilla sufferings given by his accusers were highly exaggerated. But there is no doubt that the Rohillas had given no offence to the English. Hastings did not act in this matter with his usual firmness of judgment and allowed himself to be influenced by considerations which do little credit to his intelligence and wide experience. The best thing would have been to let alone both parties. The Company were not bound by treaty to interfere and Hastings was wrong in thinking that his action was dictated by solemn engagements. Besides, his policy did not produce the results expected. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was a kind and generous ruler who treated even his non-Muslim subjects much better than his contemporaries. Shuja-ud-dowlah governed the country ill and under his successors Rohilkhand fared still worse.

The affairs of the East India Company now engaged the attention of the Home Government. In 1773 it was found from enquiry that the annual expenditure of the Company had risen by leaps and bounds and it was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Directors informed the Government that it was impossible for them to carry on their business in India

The
Regulating
Act (1773).

without a substantial loan. After much debate two Acts were passed in 1773. By the first the Company was granted a loan of £1,400,000 at 4 per cent. on certain conditions. The second was the Regulating Act which revised the Company's constitution and established the control of the Home Government over its affairs. The Regulating Act contained the following provisions:—

- (a) The Governor of Bengal was to be the Governor-General of all British possessions in India and was to hold office for five years.
- (b) He was to be assisted by a Council of four members but he was given only a casting vote.
- (c) The Governor-General was given the power to control the foreign policy of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay.
- (d) The Directors were to place before the Home Government all correspondence relating to the revenue of India and to acquaint it with the Civil and Military transactions of the Company.
- (e) A Supreme Court of Judicature independent of the Governor-General and his Council was established at Calcutta with Sir Elijah Impey as Chief Justice.

The salaries of these officers were fixed on a liberal scale and they were not allowed to engage in trade or to accept presents.

The Regulating Act was a crude attempt at giving a constitution to British India. It suffered from serious defects. The control of the Government in England did not mean much in practice for the ministry was busy with its own affairs. The Governor-General was not given the power to overrule the majority of his Council and was greatly

hampered by the hostility and partisanship of the members. The control of the Government at Calcutta over the other Presidencies was confined merely to foreign affairs. In initial matters they were free to do what they liked. The powers of the supreme court were not defined and its quarrels with the Council seriously interfered with the smooth working of the administration.

As soon as the councillors landed in India, they began to oppose the Governor-General and tried to put every obstacle in his way. Francis, his most deadly enemy, attacked him with great bitterness and strongly condemned his actions. The Rohilla War was denounced and the foreign policy of the Company reversed. A fresh treaty was made with the Nawab Wazir of Oudh by which his subsidy was increased. When the Maratha War broke out, the Council held an opinion different from that of the Governor-General.

Not content with this the councillors went so far as to attack Hastings' personal conduct. They encouraged Raja Nand Kumar, a Bengali Brahman of high rank, to bring charges of bribery against him. He declared before the Council that Hastings had taken a bribe of three and a half lakhs from the widow of Mir Jafar. Hastings refused to hear him and dissolved the meeting. But the members persisted in their course and passed a resolution that he had taken bribes. It is true, Hastings had accepted one lakh and a half, and even his stoutest defenders admit that he was wrong in doing so. Luckily for Hastings, Nand Kumar was arrested at this time on a charge of forgery brought against him by one Mohan Prasad, a Calcutta merchant. He was tried and condemned to death.

Hastings was afterwards accused of having brought about the judicial murder of Nand Kumar with the help of the Chief Justice. The charge was untrue. The trial of Nand

Trial
of N
Kumar.

Opposition
of the
colleagues.

Kumar was carefully conducted. But the sentence was too severe and it is doubtful whether the court had any jurisdiction in the matter. It was unfair to apply the English law to Nand Kumar's case. Besides he was treated in jail with undue severity and no regard was paid to his caste. His death though not a judicial murder was a grave miscarriage of justice. Hastings' joy at the fall of his old enemy led to the suspicion that he had brought about his death.

The first
Maratha
War
(1775—82).

The Marathas were the most dangerous enemies of the English. The latter wished to establish their influence over them by having a hand in their domestic politics. This opportunity was afforded by the death of the fourth Peshwa Madho Rao in 1772. He was succeeded by his younger brother Narayan Rao who was murdered after nine months and his uncle Raghoba became Peshwa. But the latter was suspected of having brought about the death of his nephew and his opponents supported the claims of a posthumous son of Narayan Rao. Raghoba denied the pretender's claims and sought the help of the English in securing the Peshwaship for himself. He signed the treaty of Surat (7th March, 1775) with the Bombay Government and promised to cede to them Salsette and Bessein in return for their help. The English at once occupied Salsette.

The Calcutta Government did not approve of the treaty of Surat and Warren Hastings described the action of the Bombay Government as 'impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust.' A British Colonel was sent to Poona who concluded a fresh treaty at Purandhar with another Maratha leader Nana Phadnavis in March, 1776, by which the English gave up the cause of Raghoba, if they were allowed to retain Salsette. But this treaty did not find favour with the Court of Directors who suggested that the Surat treaty should be adhered to and Raghoba should be backed. The treaty of Purandhar was neither respected by the English nor by the

Marathas. A pretext for war was found in the arrival at the Peshwa's court of a French agent who had obtained some concessions for his country.

War began in 1778. The Marathas defeated the inadequate force of the Bombay Government and compelled it to sign the disgraceful convention of Wargaon in January, 1779, by which all the possessions obtained by the Bombay Government since 1773 were given up and Raghoba was to be surrendered to the Marathas. Hastings disallowed the convention and in 1780 Goddard crossed the Narbada and captured Bassein, while Major Popham captured the fort of Gwalior. Hastings offered generous terms to Sindhia in order to detach him from the Poona court. The war was closed by the treaty of Salbai in May, 1782, with the help of Mahadji Sindhia, the ablest and most powerful among the Maratha chiefs. Salsette and Bessein were secured to the English. Raghoba was given a pension and the English were not to back his cause. All territory west of the Jamna was restored to Sindhia. In other matters the treaty restored the *status quo*.

The treaty of Salbai placed the Anglo-Maratha relations on a new footing. The dominance of the English was established in Indian politics. The war clearly showed Hastings' organising capacity and fertility of resource. He acted with great promptness and supplied everything that was necessary for the successful conduct of the campaign. The position of Mahadji who had hitherto acted as a vassal of the Peshwa was greatly strengthened and he freely pursued his own schemes of aggrandisement for the next twelve years.

When war broke out between England and France in America in 1778, they took up arms in India also. The English seized Pondichery and captured Mahe on the Malabar Coast which was under the protection of Haider Ali. He was greatly annoyed at this aggression but the real cause of

The
Second
Mysore
War
(1780—84).

his displeasure was the refusal of the English to carry out the offensive and defensive alliance which they had concluded with Haider in 1769. He now realised that he could not gain anything by the friendship of the English. The Nizam who had never approved of the English alliance with Raghoba induced the Maratha chiefs to join Haider in attacking the English. In 1780 Haider Ali, at the head of a large body of troops, invaded the Carnatic, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. It was a critical situation for the English for war with the Marathas was still going on.

The Madras Government was at this time in the hands of highly incompetent officers. Colonel Baillie who was sent against Haider was cut to pieces and Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, fell into the hands of the enemy. The fortunes of the English were at a low ebb but Hastings acted with his usual boldness and vigour. He suspended the Governor of Madras and sent Sir Eyre Coote with reinforcements from Bengal. Sir Eyre Coote defeated Haider Ali at Portonovo (July, 1781) but the battle of Pollilor was indecisive. Another battle was fought at Sholingar in which Haider Ali was defeated. In 1782 the treaty of Salbai was made which deprived Haider of the support of the Marathas.

War was declared against the Dutch and the English seized the harbour of Trincomali. But Colonel Brathwaite was cut up in Tanjore by Tipu and at the same time Admiral Suffern made a junction with Haider Ali and captured Cuddalore. Trincomali was recaptured and the French obtained more success on the sea. Haider died on the 6th December, 1782. and after his death the war was conducted by his son Tipu. In 1783 Tipu captured Bednur but when he proceeded to lay siege to Mangalore. Fullaraton dashed into Mysore and advanced on Seringapatam, the capital of Tipu. But before his audacious plan could be executed he was recalled. Negotiations for peace began and the treaty

of Mangalore was signed (March 17, 1784) by which the pre-war conditions were restored.

Haider's death removed from the field of Indian politics a great military leader and administrator. He was a man of wonderful intelligence and memory and could recognise a face even after 20 years. He made no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans and employed the former to high offices. He had a great confidence in his Brahman officers whom he entrusted with responsible work. His tastes were simple; he had no palate for delicacies and ate whatever was served on his table. He spoke little and had no liking for talkers. His intellect was so clear that he could understand the most difficult questions of war and diplomacy without any difficulty. He was not proud or vain and treated even humbler persons with gentleness. He could understand several languages and personally attended to official correspondence. He was particularly kind to horse-dealers and when a horse died in his dominion he paid half its price to the owner. His habits were those of a soldier and sometimes he was harsh and cruel in awarding punishments.

Character
and
administra-
tion of
Haider
Ali.

Haider built up for himself a large kingdom which at the time of his death covered 80,000 square miles and yielded a revenue of 2 crores. He personally looked into the business of the state and administered justice with great impartiality. He punished corrupt officers and employed in every department a secret writer who informed him of everything that occurred in it. If a robbery was committed, the guard of that place was impaled alive without delay. He encouraged agriculture and commerce and never broke faith with merchants. He kept an efficient army and maintained an iron discipline. In his eyes merit was the chief test of a man's fitness for public office and he acted on this principle. Sometimes he went in disguise among his people to ascertain their true condition. Indeed, it was the force of his genius

The
affairs of
Chait
Singh.

that enabled him to build and maintain a large state in the midst of enemies who were constantly intriguing against him.

The Maratha and the Mysore wars drained the resources of the Company and the Governor-General found himself in great straits for money. In this financial distress he turned to the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh for help and coerced them to part with large sums of money. The Raja of Benares was a feudatory of Oudh but from 1775 he recognised the Company as his overlord. It was on this ground that Hastings demanded from him a large subsidy to meet his needs. In 1778 Hastings demanded 5 lakhs besides the stipulated tribute. The demand was repeated again and Chait Singh paid the sum though not without a protest. The Raja was next required to furnish 1,000 cavalry and he complied with the demand. But the delay offended Hastings and he determined to levy upon him a fine of fifty lakhs. He started for Benares to punish the Raja for his contumacious conduct. His request for an interview at Buxar was refused and his explanation was considered not only unsatisfactory but offensive in style. Hastings reached Benares and tried to arrest the Raja but his troops rose in mutiny and the Governor-General's life was so endangered that he at once withdrew to Chunar and there collected some troops. The Raja's forces were defeated and he fled to Gwalior.

The affair of Chait Singh was an act of injustice and high-handedness. We may leave aside the question whether Chait Singh was a Zamindar or a Raja. According to the agreement of 1775 the Company had no right to demand from him anything more than the tribute fixed by solemn agreement. Hastings had no right to revise the Company's treaties even if he were in dire need of money. It was a blunder on his part to attempt the Raja's arrest in his own capital. Even if we assume that Hastings was justified in having recourse to such steps in order to replenish the finances of the

Company, we must admit that the transaction was a failure. It brought no money to the Company; on the other hand it created great difficulties for Hastings. Chait Singh's expulsion had a bad effect on the country. Ten years later the Commissioner of Benares reported that there was uncultivated land for miles and that the inhabitants were tired of misrule.

The affair of the Begums of Oudh was even worse than that of Chait Singh. Asaf-ud-dowlah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, had not paid his subsidy to the Company for a long time. His mother and grandmother had in their possession a Jagir and a treasure amounting to £2,000,000. Hastings and the Begums of Oudh.

The Nawab desired to take this wealth of which, he thought, he was unjustly deprived. In 1775 the younger Begum gave him £300,000 on condition that he and the Company gave a guarantee that no further demand should be made in future. In 1781 Asaf-ud-dowlah again demanded money and suggested to the Company that the treaty with the Begums should be cancelled and he should be allowed to seize their estate and treasure. Despite the guarantee that had been given, Hastings, who badly needed money, wrote to the British Resident to help the Nawab in coercing the Begums. The Nawab was an unwilling agent in this transaction. He was egged on by Hastings to put pressure upon the ladies. Force was employed and their two ministers were for some time 'deprived of food and put in iron.' They at last yielded and money was given.

Hastings' defence was that the treasure was not the personal property of the Begums and that they had aided Chait Singh in his rebellion. Whether the property was personal or not, the British had given a guarantee in 1775 that no further demand would be made. The breach of this pledge scarcely admits of justification. The second plea is wholly baseless. There is not a shred of evidence to show

that the Begums had taken part in Chait Singh's rebellion. If Hastings was convinced of this, he should have called upon the Begums to explain their conduct. But he did nothing of the kind. Making full allowance for Hastings' financial difficulties, it must be said that the affair of Oudh was a 'sordid, shabby and sorry business.' To squeeze money out of women and eunuchs by force was an indefensible policy which will ever remain a blot on the name of Hastings. He had accepted from the Nawab in 1781 a bribe of £100,000 and though the money was spent for the benefit of the Company, it explains his relentless attitude towards the Begums.

The
Supreme
Court
and the
Council.

The Supreme Court was established by the Regulating Act of 1773. The Judges who were appointed by the Crown disregarded the authority of the Council. As the jurisdictions of the Court and Council were not defined, conflicts became inevitable. The people suffered much from their quarrels, especially the Zamindars and peasants. The court interfered in revenue matters and set at naught the authority of the Council. The proceedings of the court were arbitrary and the Judges were highly unpopular. The Indians were treated cruelly and the administration became notoriously inefficient. In 1781 the constitution of the Court was amended. The Governor-General and the Council were not subject to the Court except in matters relating to British subjects. Revenue matters were entirely excluded from the jurisdiction of the Court. All inhabitants of Calcutta were placed under the Court but the Hindus and Muhammadans were to be governed by their own laws in civil matters.

Constitutional
changes.
Pitt's
India Act
1784.

The evils of the Regulating Act were clearly manifest in the administration. The members of Parliament began to take a keen interest in Indian affairs and wished to make a better provision for their management. Fox brought forward his famous India Bill in 1783, but it was defeated through the

king's intervention. In 1784 Pitt's India Bill was passed which brought about important changes in the constitution and policy of the East India Company.

A Board of Control consisting of six commissioners was set up in England to superintend the civil and military affairs of the Company. It was to have complete control over all correspondence to and from India. A Committee of Secrecy was appointed which forwarded the confidential orders of the Board to India without informing the Directors. The Governor-General's Council was to consist of three members and the subordinate presidencies were placed under Bengal. The Governor-General and his Council were strictly forbidden to make war or peace with the Indian princes without the permission of the Court of Directors.

Hastings was recalled in 1785. On his return home he was tried by Parliament for high crimes and misdemeanours in India. After seven years' prolonged agony he was acquitted on all counts. The East India Company granted him a pension and he passed the rest of his days in peaceful retirement in his ancestral home at Dalysford.

Hastings was a man of extraordinary abilities, tireless energy and undaunted courage. By sheer dint of merit he had risen from a clerk to the position of Governor-General of India. He was endowed by nature with a great capacity for organisation and a talent for war and diplomacy. He served the interests of his country well. He founded for her a dominion in the east and successfully overcame difficulties which seemed well-nigh insuperable. It is true he did many things that are hard to justify. He was utterly unscrupulous about the means he employed to attain his end. He was not always straight in money matters and accepted rich gifts in spite of the orders of the Directors to the contrary. His devotion to duty was so great that he persevered in his task in spite of the venomous hostility of his colleagues. Even the trial failed to

break his indomitable spirit. But he lacked the qualities of higher statesmanship. He did little for the benefit of the Indian people and in all his schemes and calculations England figured more prominently than India. But when all is said and done, Hastings will take rank among the greatest benefactors of his country and the builders of the British empire in India.

He was a lover of learning. The Calcutta Madarasa was established in his time, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir William Jones for the cultivation of oriental arts and sciences.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Warren Hastings becomes Governor of Bengal	... 1772
Death of Peshwa Madho Rao	... 1772
Treaty of Benares	... 1773
Rohilla War	... 1773-74
The Regulating Act	... 1773
Battle of Mirankatra	... 1771
Treaty of Surat	... 1775
Treaty of Purandhar	... 1776
Convention of Wargaon	... 1779
Treaty of Salbai	... 1782
Death of Haider Ali	... 1782
Battle of Portonovo	... 1782
Capture of Bednur by Tipu	... 1783
Treaty of Mangalore	... 1784
Pitt's India Act	... 1784
Recall of Hastings	... 1785

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FORWARD POLICY—THE FALL OF THE MARATHAS (1786—1828)

Up to the year 1786 the Company had been reluctant to make conquests. But henceforward the progress and expansion of the British dominion was rapid and uninterrupted. The Directors enjoined upon their Governors-General non-intervention in Indian affairs but the conditions in which they were placed made it impossible for them to look on with their hands tied. Cornwallis, Wellesley and Lord Hastings were great generals as well as administrators. They fought many wars, restored order in the country and in this they were helped by the dissensions of the Marathas, the industrial growth and prosperity of the British people and their mastery of the seas. The wars of Napoleon produced their effect in India but the British dominions were well protected. The Indian powers were crushed; the elements of lawlessness were sternly suppressed and important administrative reforms were undertaken. A new policy.

Hastings was succeeded by Macpherson, senior member of Council. He remained in office for a year and a half but did not achieve any success. The Directors then sent out Lord Cornwallis who was a tried soldier as Governor-General. In 1786 an Act was passed by which the Governor-General was made the Commander-in-Chief of the army and was given the power to overrule the majority of his Council in case of emergency. This greatly improved the position of the Governor-General and he was no longer like his predecessor at the mercy of his Councillors. An important Constitutional Change

Administra-
tive
Reforms.

There are three achievements which will always be mentioned to the credit of Lord Cornwallis—the reform of the Company's service, the permanent settlement of Bengal and the changes in the judicial system. He was well-fitted to deal with these problems being a man of wide experience and undoubted integrity without any personal ambition. The Company's servants still carried on private trade and resorted to shifty devices to increase their income. Cornwallis found on his arrival that almost all the collectors were engaged in private trade under the name of some relative or friend. With characteristic boldness he put down illicit gains, substituted fixed salaries for commissions and separated the executive and judicial functions of the Company's servant. He committed a blunder in excluding Indians from the administration. He had a poor opinion of their character and capacity and in this he was entirely mistaken.

Permanent
Settlement.

Warren Hastings had made a settlement with the farmers of land revenue for 5 years. This system did not work well and the farmers who offered high bids were in arrears and oppressed the people. Agriculture and trade declined and the Zamindars and tenants both were impoverished. In 1784 the Directors restored the annual settlement again and they were asked by Parliament to evolve a permanent system. Two years later the ten-year settlement was made with the Zamindars and it was to be made permanent if it worked satisfactorily. Lord Cornwallis studied the whole question with the help of Sir John Shore, a capable Bengal Civilian, who expressed his opinion against settling the revenue forever. Lord Cornwallis differed from this view and in 1793 the revenues of Bengal were permanently settled.

This reform affected the position of three parties—the state, the Zamindars and the tenants. The state suffered a heavy loss because it could not enhance its revenue in future even if the value of land rose higher. But it escaped from

the worry of periodical assessment and collection. The position of the Zamindars improved considerably. Their wealth and prosperity increased and their loyalty strengthened the British Government. Bengal became the richest and the most flourishing province in India. Much land was brought under cultivation and the Zamindars obtained high rents. The accumulation of capital in the hands of the Zamindars has given a great impetus to trade and commerce.

But the tenants did not benefit by this reform. They were still rack-rented and treated ill. The agents of wealthy landlords oppressed them and they were powerless to seek redress in courts of law. Their rights were frequently ignored and little was done to improve their condition. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859 had to be passed to protect them against the exactions of their landlords.

Lord Cornwallis organised the judicial system on the ^{Judicial} European model. Europeans were appointed as Judges and ^{Reform} Indians were employed to expound the Hindu and Muhammadan law in all the courts. Justice was made easy and cheap. The Collectors of revenue were no longer allowed to administer justice.

Several kinds of courts were established. The Amins and Munsifs tried petty cases and were allowed a small commission on the number of cases they tried. There were District Courts presided over by English judges with Indian assessors, four provincial courts each under three European judges, the court of appeal or the Sadr Nizamat Adalat consisting of the Governor-General and members of his Council. The criminal courts were similarly organized. The judges of the provincial Civil Courts went on circuit visiting different districts and trying criminal cases in jails. Appeals from these decisions were heard by the Sadr Nizamat Adalat consisting of the Governor-General assisted by Muslim law officers.

The drawbacks of the Cornwallis system are clear. He excluded the Indians from the judiciary and thus made it more expensive and less efficient because the Europeans judges were ignorant of the language and customs of the people and the conditions of the country. The procedure followed in these courts was foreign and slow and resulted in much hardship to the people. The abolition of fees made justice so cheap that litigation increased and the courts were over-burdened with work.

Foreign
policy of
Cornwallis.

Cornwallis wanted to follow the policy laid down in Pitt's India Act but circumstances made it impossible for him to do so. He refused to assist the son of Shah Alam in recovering the throne of Delhi and adroitly kept out of such complications. But war with Tipu became unavoidable. In 1787 he had sent envoys to Turkey and France to make allowances against the British. Two years later he attacked the Raja of Travancore who was an ally of the English. The Raja was to blame for he had given shelter to refugees from the Malabar Coast. Cornwallis formed a triple alliance with the Nizam and the Peshwa in 1790 and declared war against Tipu.

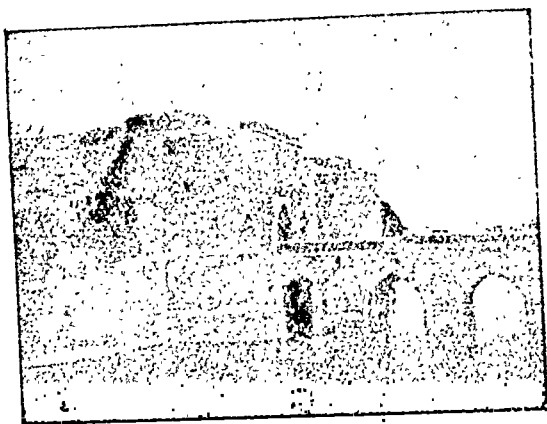
The Madras Government sent General Meadows to conduct the campaign but he was not very successful. Cornwallis then took the command in person. He occupied Bangalore and advanced on Seringapatam. Preparations for a siege were made but negotiations for peace began and a treaty was concluded with Tipu. He agreed to give a portion of his kingdom yielding revenue amounting to a crore of rupees, to pay an indemnity of three crores and to give two of his sons as hostages. The territory taken from him was divided among the allies.

Death of
Mahadji
Sindhia.

Mahadji Sindhia had saved the Mughal emperor from the Rohilla chief Ghulam Qadir who was tortured to death by him. He had suppressed the Rajputs and defeated Holkar's



Mahadji Sindhia.



Bharatpur Fort

army at Lakheri in 1792. He knew the power of the English and organised a large army trained according to European methods. He had in his service capable French generals, the chief of whom was De Boigne. Mahadji wielded much influence in political affairs and was the most powerful among the Maratha chiefs. He died in 1794 and was succeeded by Daulat Rao Sindhia.

Mahadji Sindhia was a far-sighted and sagacious statesman. He was the architect of his fortune and exercised a considerable influence on Indian politics as long as he lived. He had a rare capacity for leadership and greatly improved the efficiency of his armies by adopting European methods. Mahadji was ambitious but he knew his limitations. He was restless and revengeful but his practical good sense saved him from adopting unfair means to achieve his object.

Renewal
of the
Company's
Charter
(1793).

The Charter of the Company was renewed for another twenty years. The merchants of England wanted to have a share in the Indian trade but the principle of private trade was not accepted, and the privileges of the Company were continued. Certain rules were made regarding the Civil Service. Lord Cornwallis retired in 1793 and was succeeded by Sir John Shore.

Policy of
neutrality
and its
results
(1793-98).

Sir John Shore was not fit for the high office to which he was appointed. He followed Pitt's India Act to the letter and by his timidity brought about disastrous results. The Nizam was an ally of the English. When the Marathas invaded his territories (1795) he asked for British help. The Governor-General, dreading a war with the Maratha Confederacy, decided to keep aloof with the result that the Nizam was defeated in the battle of Kharda. He had to pay a heavy indemnity and surrender half of his kingdom to the Marathas. The prestige of the English was lowered by this conduct and the Nizam became their enemy. The dissensions

of the Marathas and the incapacity of the Indians to act together saved the British power from destruction.

Encouraged by these circumstances Tipu sent missions to France and Afghanistan with a view to turn out the English but at this juncture fortune favoured them. Zamanshah, the ruler of Afghanistan, who had invaded the Punjab was called back on account of some trouble in the western part of his dominions. The differences between the Sikhs and the Afghans saved the frontier provinces from foreign invasions.

The presence of Zamanshah at Lahore induced Sir John Shore to adopt a firm policy in regard to Oudh. Asaf-ud-dowla died in 1707 and was succeeded by a reputed son who was thoroughly worthless. The Governor-General placed on the throne Saadat Ali Khan, the brother of the late Nawab. He entered into a treaty with the English by which he agreed to pay 76 lakhs a year and to cede the fort of Allahabad, while the English undertook to give him military aid whenever he needed it.

Shore's administration clearly brought out two things. The first was the impossibility of the policy of non-intervention. The second was the unfitness of a member of the permanent service to occupy the high office of the Governor-General of India.

Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General again but he declined to come and the office was conferred on Lord Wellesley in 1798.

Richard Colley Wellesley, Earl of Morington, was appointed Governor-General at the age of 37. He was a statesman of bold imagination and imperial conceptions. He came to India at a time when the policy of neutrality had failed and a change was needed. England was at this time engaged in a life-and-death struggle with France. Its new leader Napoleon Bonaparte was forming grand schemes of

Condition
of India
(1798).

conquest both in the east and west. Lord Wellesley clearly saw that neutrality in such circumstances was impossible. He determined to crush the Indian powers and establish British supremacy all over India. During his seven years' stay in our country he pursued a high-handed policy and subdued one prince after another. His task was not an easy one. Tipu was a mortal enemy of the English. He was now intriguing with foreign powers to turn the English out of India. The Nizam had lost all faith in the English after the battle of Kharda. He had negotiated with France and accepted a French force at his court. The Maratha Confederacy was still powerful. Sindhia possessed large territories and his army was in no way inferior to that of the British.

The internal condition of the company was bad enough. Its servants quarrelled among themselves and disobeyed their superiors. The finances too were at a low ebb and there was not much money left in the treasury. Lord Wellesley decided to deal with the situation with his characteristic energy and vigour.

The Fourth
Mysore
War—Fall
of Tipu
(1799).

Tipu was clearly hostile to the English. He had sent envoys to France and other foreign countries to seek help against them. A French force came to Mysore in April, 1798 for his help. This was not all. The situation in Europe at this time was serious. Napoleon Bonaparte was invading Egypt and had designs on India. Lord Wellesley demanded absolute submission from Tipu but the latter tried to put him off by insincere expressions of goodwill. The Governor-General at once declared war and mobilised his forces. In fact he had already decided to dethrone Tipu and his family. In his own mind he was convinced that the French danger could be avoided only by putting an end to the power of Mysore. He had opened negotiations with the family of the ancient Rajas whom he intended to place upon the throne.

Two of Tipu's loyal officers were in communication with the English.

Lord Wellesley entered into a treaty with the Nizam (September, 1798) by which he became entirely dependent on the English. The Marathas were too shrewd to be drawn into the meshes of Wellesley's diplomacy and they kept aloof.

Lord Harris who commanded the main army assisted by the Nizam's forces marched towards Mysore from the east, while a small force under Stuart advanced from the west. Tipu fought with great courage but he was defeated at Malavali by Harris and driven into Seringapatam which was taken by storm on May 4, 1799. Tipu rejected the terms offered to him by the English and died fighting valiantly beneath the walls of his fortress.

The territories of Tipu were divided among the allies. The Nizam was given certain districts on the north-east but the Marathas refused to accept a conditional gift. The Company annexed to its territories Kanara on the west, Coimbatore on the south and some districts in the east together with the fortress of Seringapatam. The kingdom was given to a child of the Hindu family whom Haider Ali had dispossessed and Purnia was appointed to carry on the business of government. Tipu's sons were granted liberal pensions.

Tipu was a great ruler, warrior and leader of men. He introduced many reforms in his state and devoted himself with great zeal and vigour to the business of government. He was a man of literary tastes and could speak fluently in Persian, Kanarese and Urdu. He had a large library which was after his death transferred to Calcutta. He was not a cruel fanatic as is shown by his gifts to Hindu *maths* and temples. But he lacked the commanding ability, foresight and judgment of his father and was seldom right in his

Character
of Tipu.

estimate of character. As Wilks says, the one was born to create an empire and the other to lose it.

Tipu's fall was due to the treachery of his allies and his own mistaken calculations. He had no knowledge of European politics and did not understand whether France could help him in driving the English out of India.

The
Subsidiary
Alliances.

After Tipu's fall Lord Wellesley resolved to revise the old treaty with the Nizam and the Marathas. It was at this time that he developed his favourite scheme of subsidiary alliances. It was not a new policy. Clive and Hastings had followed it in the past. In the beginning the Indian rulers to whom they afforded military protection had to pay money and when he fell into arrears he was called upon to cede territory. Lord Wellesley elaborated the plan further. The Indian prince who entered into the alliance had to accept the British as the paramount power. He was not allowed to make war or peace with any foreign power. He had to employ British troops in his service and to pay the cost of their maintenance. He was not to employ any foreigner in his service and he was required to keep a British resident at his court.

These alliances greatly strengthened the position of the English. They became the paramount power in India and they had at their beck and call a large body of well-trained troops for whom they were not required to pay anything. The British control of the foreign policy of their allies dispelled all fear of a European invasion. Lord Wellesley acted harshly in forcing these alliances on Indian Princes who easily came under his influence by reason of their incompetence, selfishness and intrigues.

The effect of these treaties on the princes was pernicious. Secure from foreign invasion and internal revolt, they became worthless in character. The administration was neglected and the people lost all self-respect. Energy and vigour



Siege of Seringapatam.

departed from the political life of dependent states and intrigue developed to such an extent that ultimately annexation was the only remedy for misgovernment and oppression. Thomas Munro strongly condemned this system and expressed the view that the Indian princes were completely demoralised by it.

The Nizam was the first to accept the scheme of revised treaties and henceforward he became entirely dependent on the British.

Lord Wellesley was determined to extend the Company's dominions and in the pursuit of this object sometimes he had recourse to arbitrary measures. Taking advantage of a disputed succession in Tanjore he made a treaty with the Raja in October, 1799, by which he made over the entire administration to the British in return for an annual payment of £40,000.

The same thing happened in the case of Surat. When a dispute occurred about the succession, he set aside the Nawab and brought the country under his control.

The dual government established in the Carnatic resulted in much misery to the people. The papers seized at Seringapatam showed that the Nawab and his son had corresponded with Tipu. This was enough to provoke Lord Wellesley's wrath and give him a pretext for intervention. When the Nawab (son of Muhammad Ali of Trichinopoly) died in July, 1801, Lord Wellesley assumed control of the administration. The claims of the Nawab's son were set aside and he was granted a pension.

The kingdom of Oudh occupied an important position on the northern frontier of the Company's dominions. The Nawab was in arrears; his army was a 'rabble force' and the administration was in an unsatisfactory condition. Lord Wellesley called upon the Nawab to increase the British force stationed in his kingdom. He resisted and offered to abdicate

Annexations—
Tanjore,
Surat and
Carnatic.

Lord
Wellesley
and Oudh.

Lord Wellesley's India



religion was not of a primitive type. They worshipped gods some of whom were adopted by the Aryans afterwards.

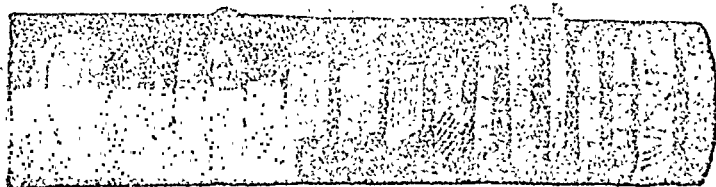
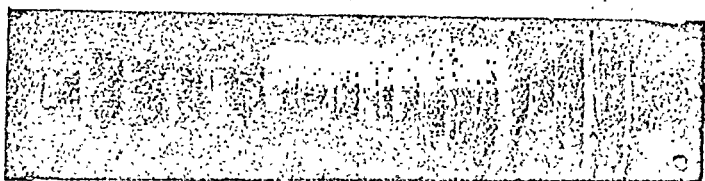
As they spread in the country, they mixed up with the aborigines in the South among whom they married and gradually became dark in complexion on account of exposure to the sun. They did not burn their dead like the Aryans; they buried them in coffins with arms and offerings of food. This practice probably they brought from their original home and maintained until their acceptance of the religion of the Aryans.



Elephant-shaped Funeral Vase found
in South India.

The Dravidians successfully imposed their language, manners and religion upon the aborigines whom they conquered. The language spoken by the Dravidians of the North was very much like modern Brahui, the language of Central Baluchistan. The Dravidians of Central India spoke a language which resembled modern Telugu. In the South the

languages prevalent are Tamil, Kanarese and Malayalam—all branches of the Dravidian language. So great was the influence of the Dravidian civilization that the aborigines gave up their native tongue and adopted in every way the ways and practices of their conquerors. The result of this is that the Dravidian languages are spoken by men who do not belong to the same race.

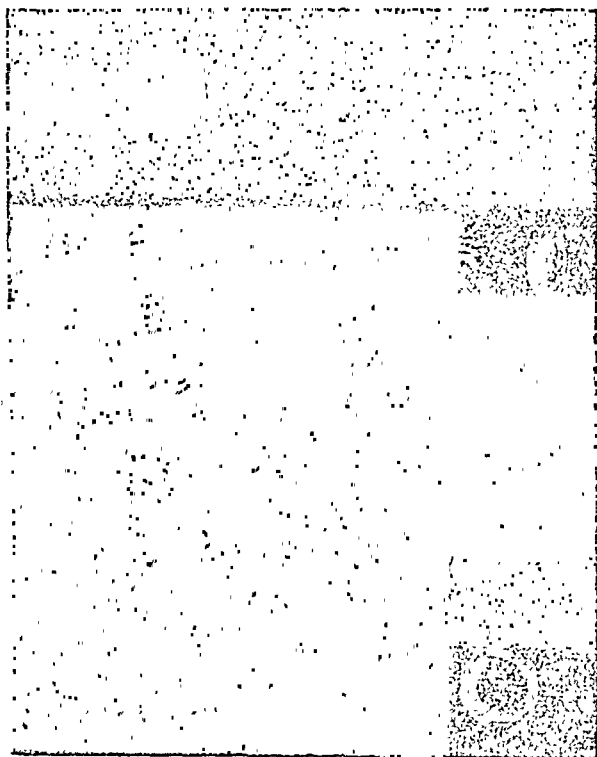


Conch-shell Bangles.

The Iron
Age.

Next came another race from across the Pamirs who used implements of iron and gradually spread over the Maratha country and through the forest tracts of the Central Provinces in Bengal. They were soon mixed up with the Dravidians and were absorbed by them. Their conquest was short-lived and did not produce much effect. In Mesopotamia the Sumerians were driven out by men of the Semitic race who were afterwards known as Akkadians, and Sumerian or Dravidian culture was forgotten in that country. But in India the Dravidians resisted their conquerors successfully and preserved their culture till the days of the rise of Buddhism.

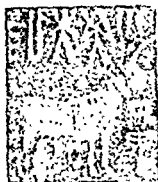
✓ That the non-Aryans inhabiting the Indus Valley were Mohenjodaro highly civilised is revealed by the discoveries of Mohenjodaro (literally, mound of the dead) in the Lārkanā district of Sind. Excavations there have brought to light relics of what was once a big flourishing city with beautiful houses, public places, drains and baths



Gold Jewellery (Mohenjodaro).

Of the minor things found, there may be mentioned the images of men and gods, ornaments of gold and other metals, various implements and furniture of every-day use. The

people knew the use of metals and minerals, built fine houses, prepared cloth both of cotton and wool and domesticated animals. The valley seems to have been rich in the fine breed of cattle which is wholly different from the humped small cattle of Central India and the Deccan. Their life-like engravings on seals show what perfection had been attained in the breed of these magnificent creatures. The dress of the people was simple; the male dress among the upper classes

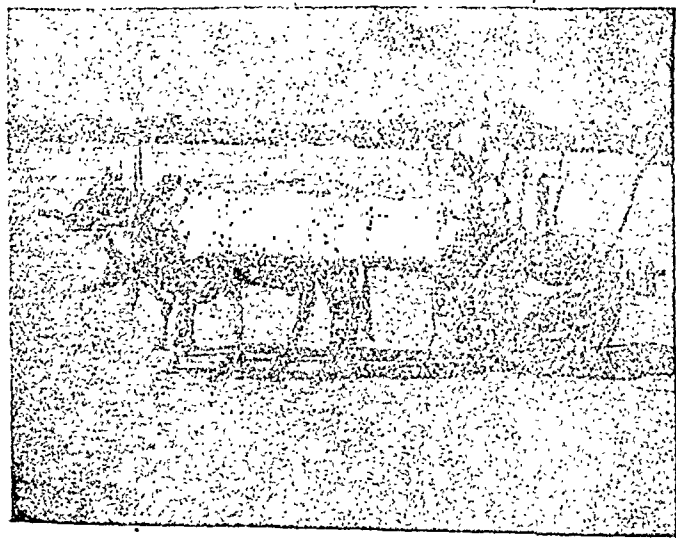


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Mohenjodaro Script and Seals.

consisted of two garments, a skirt fastened round to the waist and plain shawl or scarf drawn over the left and under the right shoulder so as to leave the right arm free. Men wore short beards and whiskers and sometimes shaved the upper lip. Among the lower classes men went about naked while women used only a narrow loin-cloth. Ornaments were

worn by all classes alike; necklaces, ear-rings, finger-rings were used by both men and women and bangles, girdles and anklets by women only. The religion of these people consisted in the worship of trees, the mother-Goddess and the phallus (Śiva). Animal worship seems to have been prevalent as is shown by engravings on seals. (Bathing was looked upon as a religious duty and much attention was paid to the construction of baths.) The art of writing was known to these people. A large number of seals with writings on them have been discovered both at Mohenjodaro and Harappā. The writing resembles the picture-writing of Egypt.



Mohenjodaro Bullock-Cart Type

It is not easy to say how the men of the Indus Valley disposed of their dead. There was no one practice which they followed. Probably burial and cremation both prevailed among them

Whether the authors of this civilization were Dravidians is still a disputed point, but they were certainly connected with the Sumerians of Babylonia (Mesopotamia). Experts declare that the relics of Mohenjodaro are to be dated about B.C. 3250. But the culture which they represent must have existed for many centuries. Similar discoveries have also been made at Harappā (Montgomery district in the Punjab) and other places in the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. This shows that the civilization extended over a very wide belt of land.

But this tribe, like all the other tribes of Northern India, had to yield place to the Aryans who began to pour into the Punjab from Central Asia whence they migrated eastward and southward.

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE ARYANS—THEIR CONQUEST AND EXPANSION

Scholars are divided as to the original home of the The Aryans.
Aryans. Some say they lived near the Danube in the plains of Austria-Hungary where the country is large enough to maintain a population, while others point to Southern Russia as their earliest cradle. Some like Mr. Tilak are of opinion that their home was in the Arctic regions, others say that it was in the steppes of Central Asia. There are yet others who think that the Aryans were the earliest inhabitants of this country and from here they migrated to the other parts of the world. Another view held by many at one time is that they lived in the steppes of Central Asia and left their homeland either on account of natural restlessness or in search of better pasture-lands for their cattle. They were a tall, fair-complexioned, long-nosed, nomadic race and spoke a language which is connected with the ancient European languages such as Greek and Latin and the modern languages such as English, French, German and Russian. From the similarity of certain words in these languages it appears that at one time the ancestors of the modern Europeans and Indians lived in one place and the general opinion is that the place was somewhere in Central Asia.

In Asia the earliest mention of them is to be found in inscriptions belonging to the middle of the third millennium B.C. They came to Asia Minor as horse-dealers from Central Asia and conquered Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and founded kingdoms for themselves. In Babylonian history they were called the Mitannis and their kings had names resembling

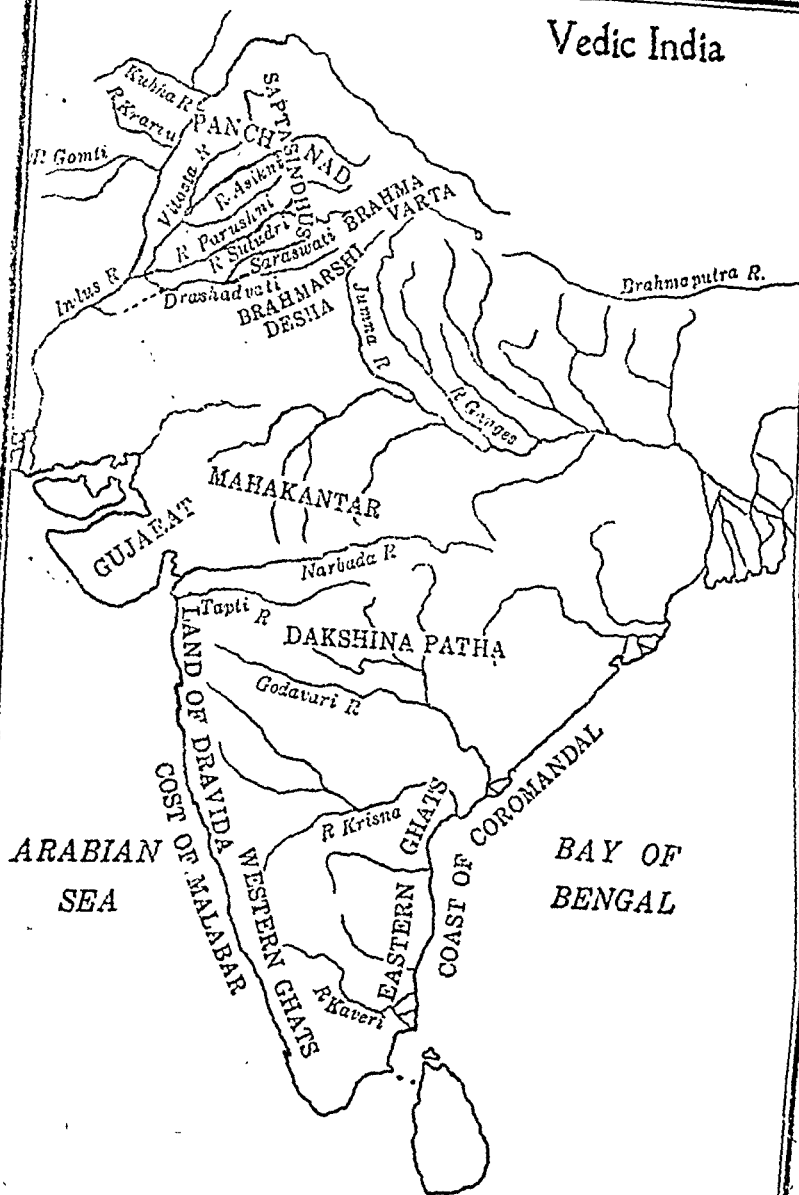
Aryan names such as Dushrata (Dasharatha) and Suwardata (Sarvadatta). They worshipped the same gods as the Aryans such as the Sun, Varuna, Indra and Marutas as is proved by the inscriptions discovered at Boghaz-koi and the letters of Tell-El-Amarna. Names like *Shurias* (Sun), *Marutash* are the same as the Sanskrit *Sūrya* and *Marutas* (the wind-gods) and *Simāliā* may be the snow-clad Himalaya. There is reason to believe that the tribes who destroyed the civilization of Mesopotamia in the middle of the second millennium B.C. were the same people as the ancestors of the Aryans who conquered the Dravidians of India and composed the Vedas.

Another branch of the Aryans settled in the fertile plains of Iran and came to be known as the Indo-Iranian group. At first there was no line of demarcation between these two groups. They worshipped the same gods in the same manner. In course of time the Persian group changed, and the names also began to lose similarity. Sometime before the sixth century B.C. they changed their religion and began to worship the sun and fire which they regarded as the representatives of the Supreme God Ahura Mazdā.

The Aryan Migration.

The Aryans did not migrate to uninhabited areas but to the lands where they had a hard struggle with the people who had already settled there. Often the fight was hard and bitter and the lot of the conquered tribes was one of great misery and hardship. Their migration was not in a mass like that of an invading host but in wave after wave, and fighting almost always preceded colonisation. In some cases the non-Aryans adopted Aryan language and culture and even their gods, but in many cases they were deprived of their lands and goods and reduced to the status of subjects. It is impossible to determine exactly the date of Aryan migration but in the present state of our knowledge it cannot be dated earlier than 3000 B.C.

Vedic India



The Aryans entered India through Afghanistan and the Khaibar Pass. Their occupation of Afghanistan is proved by the mention in the *Rigveda* of the Kubhā (Kabul), the Suvāstu (Swat), the Krumu (Kurram) and the Gomatī (Gomal) rivers. It took them a long time to establish their mastery over the non-Aryans and the fight might have lasted over hundreds of years. Ultimately, however, fortune favoured the new-comers, and they obtained a firm foothold in the Punjab known to the Vedic Indians by the name of Saptasindhu.* Their first settlements were in this country where they lived for a very long time. When the Aryans came to India, they were divided into small tribes each ruled over by its chief or king. Their conquest was entirely due to their superior physical force. They were not civilized. Their religion was primitive and consisted in the worship of the powers of nature which they dreaded. They possessed no coins and knew little of trade. The practice of barter was common among them and transactions were effected through the medium of cows. The wealth of the chief or tribal leader consisted of his cattle. They burnt their dead and deposited the ashes and bones in an urn and buried them in a tomb. In the beginning the Aryans had no caste system amongst them.

The Aryans were divided into a number of tribes and they remained separate and distinct for a long time. The names of these tribes are found in the Vedic literature and many of the districts of Afghanistan are named after them. Of the many tribes mentioned in the *Rigveda* the most important were

The Battle of Ten Kings.

* The seven rivers of the Punjab mentioned in the *Rigveda* are :—

- (1) The Sindhu or the Indus; (2) the Vitastā or the Jhelum;
- (3) the Asiknī or the Chenab; (4) the Parushnī or the Ravi;
- (5) the Vipāś or the Beas; (6) the Sutudrī or the Sutlej;
- (7) and the Saraswatī which flowed midway between the Sutlej and the Jumna. The last was by far the most important of all these rivers.

the Bharatas who dwelt in the country later known as Brahmāvarta, the Matsyas who occupied the lands now known as Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, the Anus and Druhuyus in the Punjab, the Turvaś as in the south-east, the Yadus in the west and the Purus who settled in the country round the river Saraswatī. The last five are frequently mentioned in the *Rigveda*. The Purus were a great and powerful tribe as is shown by the large number of the names of its members both royal and others. Besides these there were many other tribes of whom mention will be made in giving an account of the further expansion of the Aryans. The tribes frequently fought among themselves for power. The *Rigveda* mentions the fight of Sudās, king of the Tīrtśu family among the Bharata tribe, against ten other tribes of the north-west under the leadership of the Purus for mastery in the Punjab. The quarrel between the Bharatas and the Ten Tribes was about the choice of the priest. At first Viśwāmitra, a king of the Kusika clan, was the priest of the Bharatas and under his leadership they fought successfully against their enemies. But after some time Viśwāmitra was deposed and a Brāhmaṇā of the Vasishtha clan was chosen as priest. Enraged by this deposition Viśwāmitra organized a coalition of the Ten Tribes of the Western Punjab against the Bharatas, but the allies were defeated by King Sudās on the banks of the Parushnī (Ravi) and several chiefs and over six thousand warriors were killed in battle. This victory gave pre-eminence to the Bharatas in the Punjab who had become very powerful. There was nothing to check their progress eastwards to the Yamuna. In course of time their power declined and the Purus and Kurus took their place. They were ultimately merged into one tribe known by the latter name (the Kurus) and became famous in the later Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas as the chief pioneers of Vedic culture. Gradually the whole of the Punjab came under Aryan influence and became the

centre of Aryan civilization. It was from there that Aryan culture penetrated to the rest of Northern India.

Gradually, as the Aryans expanded, they divided themselves into castes according to occupations. When they had permanently settled, they were still compelled to fight with the aborigines and the Dravidians whom they called the Nishādas, Dāsas or Dasyus. The chief distinction between the Dāsa and Arya was that of *Varṇa* (colour) and the black colour is unquestionably one of the main bases of the caste system. Second to colour was the hatred towards the man who did not recognize the Aryan gods. Those who went to fight came to be called the Kshātras and those that remained at home to till the lands were known as the Visas. Later on, the functions of the priests were separated from the functions of the Visas and the Kshātras. But there is no evidence to show that the castes were hereditary in the Rīg-vedic period. The Brāhmaṇa priest was not necessarily the member of a hereditary class but the term could be applied to any person who was endowed with intellect and virtue. The priests became powerful and claimed to defeat the enemy in battle by their spells and incantations. As time passed, a fourth caste sprang up. It consisted of the Śūdras, who were members of the tribes defeated and conquered by the Aryans and admitted into their social system. Originally they were looked upon as a servile caste by the higher orders but in course of time their usefulness was recognized, and they became the artisans and workmen of the community. Certain rights were conceded to them and their welfare was well looked after by the members of the conquering class.

The Caste System among the Early Aryans.

The Indo-Aryans greatly increased their strength by the absorption of foreign elements. They married among the dark-skinned original inhabitants of the land and admitted into their body many tribes of foreign origin. Gradually the land now known as the United Provinces was colonized. In

Expansion of the Aryans.

the later Vedic period important kingdoms arose in what was called the Madhyadeśa or the Middle Country extending from the Saraswatī in the north to Allahabad and a part of Bihar in the east. The kingdoms which deserve to be mentioned were those of the Kurus at Thanesar, the Panchālas in Rohilkhand and the interior of the Doab, the Matsyas in Jaipur and Alwar, the Surasenas at Mathura, the Kosalas in Oudh, the Kāsis in Benares and the Videhas in the modern Tirhut and Darbhanga districts. The tract of land between the Saraswatī and the Dr̥shadvatī (*Chautang*) became known as the Brahmāvarta or Kurukshetrā. Western India also felt the impact of the Aryans and we read of kings in Malwa and Surashtra and the Indus Valley conforming to the Aryan ritual. The South-East Bihar and Bengal long remained outside the pale of Aryan influence but even there the aborigines had to submit to and acknowledge the supremacy of the conquerors. The latter established kingdoms such as Anga (Bihar), Vanga (Bengal), Pundra (North Bengal), Suhma (South Bengal) and Kalinga. The Deccan or Dakṣiṇāpatha was the last to be subdued. It was during the period of the later Vedic texts that the Aryans crossed the Vindhya and penetrated into that region. They established their settlements and in course of time powerful kingdoms were founded. A large part of the Deccan still remained covered with deep forests and inhabited by aboriginal races, and in the Rāmāyaṇa we see an attempt to bring it under the influence of Aryan civilization. In conquering these countries the Aryans had invariably to come in contact with the non-Aryans; intermarriages were frequent and a new civilization, containing a very large admixture of non-Aryan features, came into being. The Dravidians gradually adopted Aryan names, customs, religion and some of their gods were also accepted by the Indo-Aryan priests. The caste system was modified and new castes were formed.

No tribe has ever come to India to go back to its original land, so that the population of India, like her religion, is a mixed one. We have seen above that the Bhils and Santhals of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, as well as the Tamils and Telugus of the Far South are descendants of the pre-Aryan races of India. Aryan blood is the greatest in the Punjab and Kashmir, while it is scantier in Bengal and the Deccan. In Assam and the north-eastern part of Bengal there are elements of the Mongolian blood, which shows that in ancient times those regions were inhabited by Mongolians, i.e., the people of Tibet and Burma.

Population
of India.

Of the later immigrants, the Greeks, Śakas, Kushans and Huns, who began to flock to India from the second century B.C., we shall hear in their proper places. They did not influence Hindu culture in any remarkable manner; on the contrary they themselves became Indianized in no time. In the eighth century A.D. a large number of Persians left their home to escape from religious persecution, and settled in Gujarat and Bombay. They now form a very rich, flourishing and influential community of India and are known as the Parsis. The Parsis follow the religion of Zarathustra and worship the fire in their temples.

CHAPTER III

THE CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION OF THE VEDIC AGE

Antiquity of
the Vedas.

The Vedas, the oldest literature of the Indo-Aryans, are regarded by the orthodox Hindus as being as old as creation and as being uttered by Brahmā, the Creator. The word Veda literally means knowledge. It does not signify a single book like the Quran or the Bible. It is a collective name for a mass of literature which has grown up in course of many centuries. Some European scholars are of opinion that there are portions of the Vedas which were composed by the Aryans even when they had not separated, but this does not seem to be correct. The Vedas were composed on the Indian soil and by about B.C. 800 the composition of the whole of the Vedic literature was complete.

The Vedic
Literature.

The Vedas are four in number, the Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda and Atharvaveda. Every Veda has three divisions:—

1. The hymn part which is called the *Saṁhitā* of which we shall hear presently.

2. The *Brāhmaṇas* which are prose texts and explain the *Saṁhitā* in relation to sacrificial rites and to secret meaning of the latter. The *Brāhmaṇas* furnish evidence of the spread of Indo-Aryan colonization. From them we learn that the Indo-Aryan civilization gradually spread along the valley of the Ganges and the Yamuna as far as Benares.

3. The *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* are philosophical treatises, declaring that the world is the manifestation of the Supreme Being, which is present in every atom of the Universe. The *Aranyakas* are so holy that they can be read only

in forests and hence their name. The Upanishads are written in clear language and simple style and are greatly admired all over the world. Schopenhauer, the great German philosopher, wrote about them, "In the whole world there is no study except that of the originals so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." The Upanishads show that at the time when they were composed, the Indo-Aryans had made great progress in civilization and their priests had begun to modify the religion of their ancestors.

The hymns of the Vedas were composed by Rishis or sages such as Vasishtha, Viśwāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri, Agastya, etc. The popular belief of the Hindus, however, is that the Vedas are eternal and were revealed to the Rishis. The Veda is designated as the Śruti, i.e., that which is heard.

The Rigveda Samhitā is the oldest piece of the Vedic literature. It consists of 1028 hymns (*Sūktas*), each hymn containing several verses (*mantra*), addressed to the various deities to please them. The *Samhitā* is divided into ten books (*Mandala*). *The Yajurveda Samhitā* contains many hymns and verses from the Rigveda as well as many prose-pieces meant for use in sacrifices. The *Sāmaveda* consists of a collection of verses which were chanted by priests at the Soma sacrifices. These verses are taken mostly from the Rigveda and have only been arranged in a different order. They are important for the history of Indian music and throw light on the growth of sacrificial ceremonies but their literary value is practically nothing. *The Atharvaveda Samhitā* contains some of the *Sūktas* of the Rigveda, some of the hymns of the *Samaveda* and is a miscellaneous collection of prose and verse. It deals largely with magic spells and witchcraft by which demons and enemies could be destroyed and success and prosperity could be achieved. For long it was not given a place in Vedic literature.

The Date of
the Vedas.

The Rigveda is the oldest of all other Vedas, though it is impossible to fix the date when it was composed. Its earliest portions go back to about B.C. 2500, though some portions may be as late as B.C. 800. The other Vedas might have been composed from B.C. 1500 to B.C. 800. During this long period, the society and religion changed considerably, and therefore what is true in the early Vedic period is not necessarily true in the later age. The customs of the early period must not be thought to have existed also in the later period.

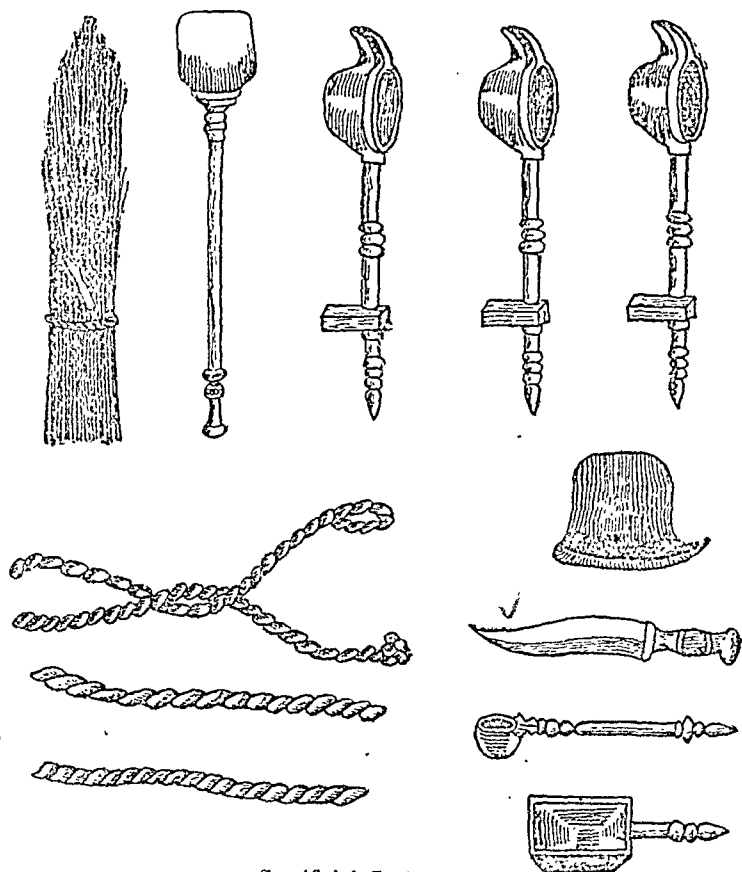
Social
Organization.

The organization of the Vedic society was primitive. The clans and tribes definitely settled in the country and gave up their nomadic habits. The unit of society was the joint family. The families formed a village or *Grāma* and a number of villages were grouped into a *Viś* or district. These latter formed a *Jana* or tribe with a king at its head. The tribes were divided into a number of classes. The chief classes were the Brāhmaṇas, Kshātras and Viśas. There was no rigid distinction between these castes. A Brāhmaṇa could be a Kṣatriya and a Kṣatriya could attain to Brahmanhood. To these classes the Aryan conquest added a fourth class known as the Sūdras. The Sūdras were not savages. They lived in cities, possessed wealth in the shape of cows, horses and chariots. They owned castles and had their kings some of whom were very powerful. They fought like the Aryans and had the same kind of arms. Some of them in course of time became mixed up with the Aryans and adopted their civilization.

The Vedic
Religion.

The religion of the early Vedic period is very simple. The people offered prayers and sacrifices to gods, who were asked in turn to bestow wealth and cattle upon the worshippers. The gods were thirty-three in number, of which the chief were Varuṇa (Sky), Savitā (Sun), Vāyu (Air), the Aśvins (the Twin Physicians), the Marutas (Storm), Indra (Thunder), Agni (Fire) and Soma, a plant the juice of which

was drunk on sacred occasions. The Dawn was worshipped under the name of Ushas and was the only female deity. There was no image-worship, nor were there any temples. Great importance was attached to prayer and sacrifice. The



Sacrificial Instruments.

offerings consisted of food, drink and sometimes of animals. Without sacrifice there could be no day, no night, no harvest and no rain because the gods would lose the power of sending them.

The gods are conceived in human form. They are kind and generous; they protect the righteous and punish the sinful. Some of them like Indra and Marutas appear as warriors and others like Agni and Brhaspati as priests. All of them drive in celestial cars usually drawn by two horses. Their food is the same as that of men. Their drink is the Soma juice and their life in heaven is a life of bliss. The Rigvedic gods are agencies of good who destroy evil and fulfil the desire of man. They possess many divine qualities such as brilliance, beneficence and wisdom. The hymns addressed to them are eulogies intended to seek their favour.

Great changes, however, occurred in the later Vedic Age. The number of gods increased, and the gods became less important than the sacrifices. The sacrifices became complicated in character and were classified according to their nature and importance. Elaborate rules were laid down in the Brāhmaṇas for their correct performance, any slight deviation from which was considered to be a great sin.

In the last book of the Rigveda we come across the idea of God, a single world-soul embracing all the gods as well as nature supreme over all other deities. But the idea is fully developed only in the Upanishads; the ritualists had nothing to do with it, and were content only with sacrifices.

Government. The Rigvedic people were divided into clans, each of which had a king of its own. The king was sometimes elected but was more often hereditary. He was the leader of his clan in times of war and decided cases. At the time of his coronation he had to promise to treat his people kindly. There were two popular assemblies, the *Sabhā* and *Samiti* which advised the king on important matters and probably elected him when necessary. The chief source of income consisted in the tributes paid by the conquered tribes and the gifts of his people which once granted were usually demanded. To these was added the booty in land, slaves and cattle captured

during the war. Criminal justice was entirely in the hands of the king. The penal laws were harsh and punishments often severe even for small offences. To slay a Brāhmaṇa was a serious crime and treachery was punishable with death. A thief was hanged if he was caught red-handed. The king was the chief civil judge also and was assisted by the elders of the tribe. The system of local government was simple. At the head of the village was the *Grāmaṇī* or leader, resembling the *Mukhia* or headman of our times. He was nominated by the king and sometimes his post was hereditary. The land did not change hands. Only movable property could be given away by gift or sale. Loans were contracted but the rate of interest is unknown. The debtor could be sold into slavery.

The military system was primitive. The king and the nobles fought from chariots and the common people on foot. The chief weapons were the bows and lances; spears and swords were seldom used. The foot soldiers had little armour but warriors who stood high in order wore coats of mail. Horses were not used in war for the warriors depended upon their bows which could not have been used effectively from horse-back.

The Military System.

The chief occupation of the people was agriculture and their wealth was the cattle. The main crops raised were wheat and barley. The method of cultivation was pretty much the same as now. The plough was usually drawn by two oxen fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather bands. The ploughshare was made of iron. The facilities of irrigation existed and the fields were watered by canals and wells. The *Atharvaveda* gives a number of spells to drive away the insects and demons that did harm to the crops and also to avoid excessive rain and drought. Some people devoted themselves to industrial pursuits, such as spinning and weaving, pottery, tanning, craftsmanship in gold and iron, car-

Economic Life.

peting, chariot-making, etc. Even women knew weaving and we find that the dress worn by the bridegroom on the day of marriage was woven by the bride herself. In later times the industries were so highly developed that artisans of different classes organized themselves into guilds, each under an alderman. Trade was carried on by barter, though some sort of coin might have been known.

Marriage.

The Aryans also developed a good social and family life. As a rule they married only one wife and the standard of female morality was fairly high. Child marriage was unknown and man and woman could freely choose their companion in life. Caste was no bar to marriage. A Brāhmaṇa could marry a wife of a lower caste though marriage with Sūdras was entirely disapproved later. There is no evidence to show that the remarriage of widows was common. The marriage tie was regarded as a sacred one and much stress was laid on good conduct. The sale of a daughter was looked upon as a bad thing and dowries were given only when the girl suffered from some physical defect.

Food, drink, dress and amusements.

The food of the Vedic Indians consisted of ghee, milk, and of flour made into cakes; vegetables and fruits were used and meat-eating was prevalent though on occasions it was censured and classed with wine-drinking. The drink which the Aryans valued most was Soma, the juice of a plant, which was used only for sacrificial purposes. From this we must distinguish Surā or liquor which seems to have been distilled from grain. It was very intoxicating and was looked on with disfavour by the priests. The dress was simple; it consisted of a turban and three garments and was sometimes decked with gold. Ornaments such as necklaces, ear-rings, anklets and bracelets were used by both sexes and were usually made of gold. Men combed and oiled their hair while women wore it plaited and sometimes in coils. Shaving was not unknown but the usual fashion was to grow beards. The

life of the Aryans was a gay and joyous one. Music and dancing were common and hunting and chariot-races were the favourite pastimes of the people. Gambling was not looked upon as a bad thing though sons were punished by their fathers when caught red-handed, and when they had lost everything on the dice-board. Boxing was in vogue and feats of acrobats were known.

Women enjoyed great freedom, the wife being given a very respectable position in the household and society. They freely attended sacrificial rites and took part in them with their husbands. The *pardah* did not exist and girls received a liberal education. Some of them rose to the rank of *Rishis* and became composers of Vedic hymns. The good wives rose early in the morning and churned butter out of curds. Daughters helped their mothers in their work and brought water from wells. The average woman was chaste and served her husband faithfully. A wife was highly esteemed who looked after the comforts of every member of the family and made the home an abode of happiness and joy. *Sati* seems to have been prevalent. Sometimes on the death of the husband the widow burnt herself or was burnt by her relatives. The practice was in vogue among the warrior class but in other cases wives preferred to live. To have a son was one of the greatest desires while the birth of a daughter was not considered as an occasion for joy.

Position of
Women.

The boy who was intended to be a priest had to live as a celibate (*Brahmachari*) during the days of his studentship. Indeed the same discipline was enjoined upon the scholars of the *Kṣatriya* and *Viś* classes. The teacher was his second (spiritual) mother who treated him kindly like a child. In the guru's house the student devoted himself to studies which consisted of ancient texts. The teacher recited the texts and his disciples followed him. All knowledge was imparted orally and this was the established practice for centuries.

Student
Life.

Caste.

At first there were three castes, Brāhmaṇa, Rājñña (Kṣatriya) and Viś (Vaiśya). But later the caste system assumed a definite shape. The gradual inclusion of the non-Aryans necessitated a distinct caste, the Śūdra or Dāsa. The increase of ceremonies and sacrifices brought into existence the Brāhmaṇas who could devote their whole life to practising and teaching rituals. The Kṣatriyas were the ruling class and easily formed themselves into a proud caste. The bulk of the Aryan population became known as the Vaiśyas. devoted to agriculture and industrial pursuits. The Vaiśya took no part in the intellectual life of the time. His ambition was to become a *grāmaṇī* or village headman, a post to which the king appointed wealthy Vaiśyas. Though caste existed in a form, it was not so rigid as now. Some restrictions were there but they were meant only for those engaged in the performance of certain special religious rites.

Gradually the characteristics of the present caste system developed, hereditary profession, marriage within one's own caste, etc. However these rules were often violated, though they were made as rigid as possible. The position of the Brāhmaṇa as the head of the society was not recognized by some Kṣatriyas, who devoted themselves to the study of abstract philosophy and became known as Rajarshis (royal sages), the most famous of whom was Janaka, the king of Mithila. The Brāhmaṇas continued to hold the field and remained absolute masters both in rituals and knowledge.

CHAPTER IV

✓ THE POST-VEDIC AGE

The six Vedangas or parts of the Vedas deal with the ^{The Six} following six subjects, viz.:— ^{Vedangas}

- (1) Śikshā (Pronunciation of the Vedic hymns).
- (2) Chhandas (Vedic metre).
- (3) Vyākaraṇa (grammar), the greatest book on the subject is the grammar of Pāṇini (seventh century B.C.) who fixed the forms of Sanskrit language.
- (4) Nirūkta (meaning of Vedic words).
- (5) Kalpa (rituals).
- (6) Jyotiṣa (astronomy).

Some of these are in the form of Sūtras or compressed formulæ. They are so terse that it is impossible to understand them without external help. The dates of these texts cannot be fixed, but they may be roughly taken to have been composed from the eighth century to the second century B.C.

The Kalpa Sūtras are of three kinds: (1) The Śrauta Sūtras, (2) The Gṛhya Sūtras, and (3) the Dharma Sūtras. The oldest of the Sūtras go back to the time when Buddhism arose. The spirit of simplicity underlying the Vedic religion underwent a change and elaborate ritual came into existence. The priestly class devised a number of ceremonies to which they attached great impor-

tance. The Grhya Sūtras deal with small domestic sacrifices and the life of man from birth to death. The Śrauta Sūtras are concerned with the ritual which accompanies the great Vedic sacrifices. They are in fact technical guides to the Vedic sacrifices. The Dharma Sūtras relate to social and religious life and embody the principles of civil and criminal law and of inheritance. The Sūtras lay down 40 Saṁskāras for an Ārya which have to be gone through from the time of birth to the time of death. Some of them are still in vogue among the Hindus.

Importance
of Sacrifice.

Several kinds of sacrifices are mentioned of which the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha are very famous. The Rājasūya was intended for the consecration of a king. It was preceded by a number of rites which extended over a whole year. In the Aśvamedha sacrifice a horse was consecrated and let loose with a hundred princely guards as a challenge to other kings. For a year the horse roamed about and when it was brought back the King and Queen performed a sacrifice after which they were anointed by the priest.

There is no doubt that both sacrifices were performed by powerful kings whose might was acknowledged by their contemporaries. Both kinds of sacrifices are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

erities.

Shortly after grew the idea that *tapas* or self-mortification or penance of the body was needed to obtain salvation. To subject the body to suffering was a way to win the highest religious merit. Men retired to the forests and practised the severest austerities. Gradually men's outlook changed and *tapas* took the place of sacrifice in daily life.

Six
Systems of
Philosophy.

While some men regarded penance (*tapas*) as the way to the highest bliss there were others who felt that salvation could be attained only by true knowledge. They did not reject rites, ceremonies and penances (*tapas*) but did not attach much importance to them. They emphasized the dis-

inction between Karmakāṇḍa and Jñānakāṇḍa and laid down the doctrine that 'he who knows God attains the God, may, he is God.' Six schools of philosophy were formed—the Sāṃkhya system of Kapila, the Yoga system of Pātañjali, the Nyāya system of Gautama, the Vaiśeshika system of Kaṇāda, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā of Jaimini and the Uttar-mīmāṃsā of Vyāsa.

The philosophical speculations embodied in these systems are later than the Upanishads and reveal more advanced thinking than that of the Upanishads.

The Sūtras give elaborate rules as to how a man should lead his life. Throughout his life a man had to go through a number of Saṃskāras. After Upanayana, when a boy was to be given the sacred thread, he really became a member of his caste, and was to go to his teacher's place to get education. After education which sometimes lasted as long as twenty-four years, he was to marry and become a householder. In this capacity he was expected to give alms to Brāhmaṇas and feed guests, and himself to maintain a number of students. About the age of fifty he was to retire from worldly life to the penance groves and live on fruits and roots. The last stage of life was that of a recluse, wandering through the villages and living on alms. These four stages of life, Brahmacharya, Gārhaṣṭhya, Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa are known as the Four Ashramas. It need not be thought that the people actually underwent all these stages one by one; it was an ideal which the Brāhmaṇa sages set up before themselves and which they wanted the first three castes to follow.

The Dharma Sūtras, a branch of the Kalpa Sūtras, deal with the life of man as a member of the society. They show to us a society in which caste was much more developed than in the Vedic Age. A man ought not to leave his hereditary profession except in cases of distress. Members of different

The Four
Ashramas.

Society.

castes could dine with one another. A man could marry a girl of the lower caste but a high-caste girl was not to marry a low-caste man. Early marriage for girls is prescribed; but remarriage of widows was allowed in some cases. The law-givers did not favour city-life, and regarded the cities as impure.

On the Dharma Sūtras are based the Dharma Śāstras which are usually metrical works and the most important of which is the *Manusmṛiti*, composed in or about the second century B.C. In *Manu* we find that caste is more fully developed and intermarriage is decried. The Brāhmaṇa is extolled to very high levels; in short he is to be treated as a god on earth, whether learned or otherwise. *Manu* gives details of the four Ashramas and the duties in each stage of life. He also deals with civil and criminal laws. He is hard on women, though education is not altogether denied to them. In dealing with this sort of literature, one has always to remember that these law-givers were only giving what according to them was the ideal condition of society.

Position of
Woman.

The position of woman has declined to some extent in the later Vedic age. She was declared unfit to hold property and this tended to lessen her prestige. Kings could marry any number of wives and their example was followed by other wealthy men. But the ideal of female morality was still high. The liking for male children increased and one of the Brāhmaṇas describes a daughter as 'a source of misery and a son as a light in the highest heaven.'

The Epics.

The two most famous epics of India with which every Hindu child is familiar from his childhood are the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, said to have been composed by sages Vālmiki and Vyāsa respectively. In reality, however, the *Mahābhārata* is the composition of a number of poets and the period of its composition probably ranged from B.C. 700 to

B.C. 200. The Rāmāyaṇa, however, is more or less the product of one poet with much fewer interpolations. It seems to have been begun about the same time as the Mahābhārata and finished within a century or two. The two epics have been translated in every vernacular of India and their stories have become household words.

In the epics we come across large kingdoms with well-organized administrations and every type of king good and bad. Several kingdoms are mentioned such as Panchala, Kausambi, Kosala, Videha, Kasi, Magadha, etc. Good kings respected the opinion of the people of the towns and villages (Paura-Janapada). But kings of the other type were not lacking. There were autocratic kings who overruled their ministers and advisers. But a bad king who injured his subjects could be deposed and killed. The *sabha* still existed but it was consulted only in military matters. Gambling was one of the vices of royal circles and the effect was often disastrous. Kingdom was regarded as a personal property of the king and he could distribute it in any way he liked. Every powerful king started on a universal conquest. Princes were given thorough military training in their childhood, and we hardly come across a king who was not a warrior. The love of fighting was keen among the Kṣatriyas and it was a disgrace to die in bed. Their motto was 'Sweet is to die in battle; the path to heaven lies in fighting.' The warrior was loyal to his king. He fought for him as well as for glory which was considered better than life itself. The heroes boasted of their feats in battle and wished to earn fame by performing deeds of valour.

Government
in the
Epics.

The caste-system had secured a firm foothold in society when the epics were composed. There was a priest (Purohita) at every royal court. In the Mahābhārata his advice is not much cared for but in the Rāmāyaṇa his influence is supreme.

Society.

The princesses sometimes chose their husbands in an assembly of suitors; this custom was known as *Swayamvara* (self-choosing). All kings had more than one wife, Rāma being an exception. The marriageable age for girls was high, and though there were harems (*antahpura*), women do not seem to have been excluded from public life. Marriages among different castes were in vogue but it does not appear that a Brāhmaṇa girl could marry a non-Brāhmaṇa. Marriage with Śūdras was looked down upon. In some localities the practice of widows dying with their husbands was in vogue. Of the two wives of Pāṇdu, one became a sati, while the other continued to live a widowed life. Women had a fair share of culture and education and studied arts and sciences. But the idea was gaining ground that knowledge and learning were the proper sphere of men.

Trade was in a flourishing condition. The aristocratic nobles lived gaudily and must have been patrons of artisans and craftsmen.

Religion.

The religion of the epics is Brahmanical. The worship of individual gods was generally coming into existence. The important gods were Śiva and Bhāgavat (Vishnu). The worshippers of Bhāgavat believed in the personal devotion (*Bhakti*) to Vāsudeva-Krishna, whom they believed to be an incarnation of God. Mathurā and Brindāvana were the strongholds of this sect.

Bhagavad-
gita.

The famous Bhagavadgita forms a portion of the Mahābhārata. When Arjuna was loth to fight against his relatives, Krishna preached to him the teachings contained in the Gita. In it are found instructions in Yoga (meditation) and Bhakti (personal devotion). It teaches that man is only a part of the Supreme Being, and his aim ought to be to realize the God within him. He ought to go on acting without caring for the result.

CHAPTER V

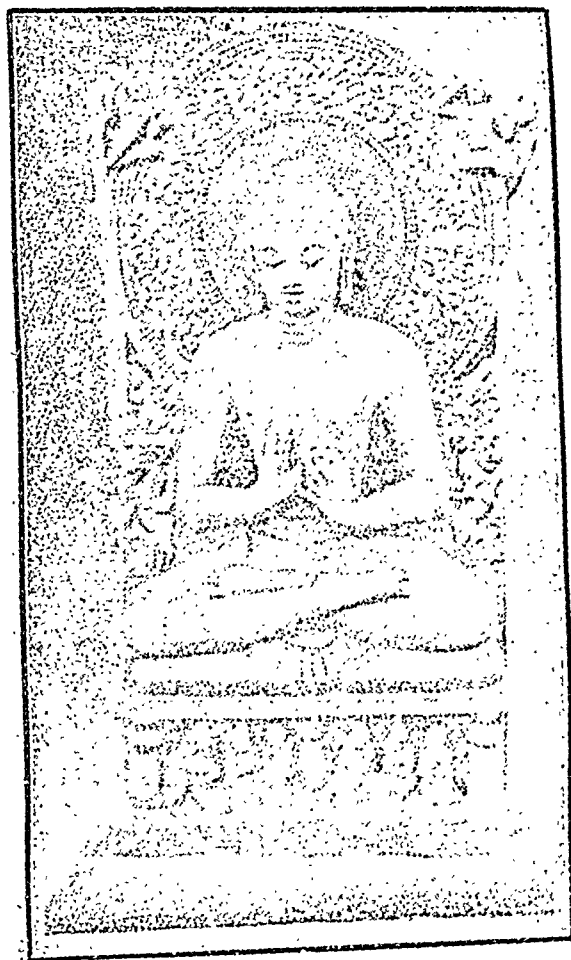
JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

The extreme attachment of the Brāhmaṇas to ritualism led the more thoughtful men to enquire into its efficacy. This led to much free thinking, and some Upanishads denounce sacrifices as useless for the salvation of man. By the eighth or seventh century B.C. this revolt against Brahmanism took a definite shape in the eastern country of Bihar which was not thoroughly Aryanized. There arose many sects which believed that the ultimate goal of human life could only be attained by purity of thought and conduct and not by sacrifices and rituals. The followers of such sects organized themselves in different groups and took to preaching. A number of wandering monks went from place to place preaching the new protestant doctrines. Their purity, simplicity and penances attracted the attention of all and in a short time many enrolled themselves among their disciples. The most important of such sects were the Jainas and the Buddhists. They discarded Vedic rites and ceremonies and refused to accept the superiority of Brāhmaṇas. Their teachings met with a ready response among the Kṣatriya clans.

Revolt
against
Brahmanism

The Buddhist and Jain religions are alike in several respects but it is now proved that Jainism is older than Buddhism. The Jainas believed that there were twenty-four Tirthankaras or holy persons who gave rise to Jainism. The twenty-third Tirthankara, Pārśvanatha by name, seems to have been the first historical person in the list and possibly lived in the eighth century B.C. He was a Kṣatriya by birth and his tenets were speaking the truth, non-injury to animal life, giving up all property and not-stealing.

Jainism.



Buddha (Sarnath)

But the real founder of the faith was Vardhamāna, the son of the chief of Vaiśālī (Basārḥ in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar), which was ruled by the Kṣatriyas of the Licchivi clan and had a republican form of government. He was born about the year 540 B.C. There is a great similarity in the lives of Buddha and Vardhamāna. Vardhamāna left his family at the age of thirty and practised severe penance for twelve years. By practising meditation, chastity and observing the strictest rules about eating and drinking he fully subdued his senses and totally abstained from doing the slightest injury to any living being. He roamed about the parts inhabited by wild tribes, putting up with their most cruel treatment. But he never gave up patience, nor did he cherish a feeling of revenge or hatred against his oppressors. In the thirteenth year he attained supreme knowledge and came to be known as Mahavira (the Great Hero) and Jina (the Conqueror). There is nothing very new in the teachings of Mahavira. He added a fifth vow to the four taught by Pārsvanātha, viz., that of chastity. He wanted his followers to go about naked. They came to be known as Nirgranthas (letterless ones). Like Buddha, he insisted on the purity of mind and body and on the sanctity of animal life. This last phase was pushed to the greatest extremes by the Jainas. Deliverance is the ultimate end of man, but it is not Nirvāṇa as Buddha said but the merging of the soul in endless happiness. After preaching these tenets for 30 years Mahavira died (attained Nirvāṇa) at Pāwā near Rajgriha in 468 B.C. at the age of 72 years.

According to Mahavira's teachings, a Jaina, who wishes to attain Nirvāṇa, must possess right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. He must observe the five vows mentioned above. Tapas or penance is enjoined as a necessary duty and fasting is recommended as a form of tapas. The final goal is the liberation of the soul which cannot be attained

without fast, contemplation and austerities. Mahavira laid much stress upon absolute non-injury to any being (*ahimsa*) and this has been a cardinal principle of the Jain religion ever since.

About the year 300 B.C. the Jainas came to be divided into two sects, the Digambaras (literally the sky-clad) and the Svetambaras (the white-robed). The former chose to remain naked, while the latter held that white clothes may be worn by the Jainas. The followers of Jainism number about 12 lakhs in India. They are a wealthy and prosperous community, mostly engaged in commerce and other lucrative pursuits. Jainism failed to be as popular as Buddhism for the simple reason that its rules were hard to follow. It was patronised by kings and under their care it developed an art and literature of its own. It produced a number of scholars and saints who are well known for their piety and wisdom. These things have secured for the Jainas a conspicuous position in the history of India.

Life of
Gautama
Buddha.

The Śākya, a Kṣatriya clan, to which Gautama Buddha belongs, inhabited the Nepalese Tarai, north of Oudh. and had their capital at Kapilavastu. In the sixth Century B.C. their king was Suddhodana who was a vassal of the emperor of Kosala. His son Siddhārtha was born in the village of Lumbinī in or about B.C. 563. Tradition says that Siddhārtha, being philosophically-minded, his father tried to keep him engaged in various earthly pleasures and married him to a beautiful girl named Yaśodharā at the early age of sixteen. He was deeply pained at the sight of an old man, a sick man and a dead body, and knowing that he himself would not escape disease, old age and death, he left his home, wife, his newly born babe and his parents at the age of thirty to find a solution of the riddle of life. He studied philosophy, went to the Brahmaṇas, asked for light and wandered from place to place but the peace of mind did not come to him.

Then he went to Gaya and began to practise the hardest penances. He kept fasts, subjected his body to great mortifications and underwent every kind of painful experience in the hope of receiving enlightenment but to no purpose. His health was in danger and he was reduced to a mere skeleton. After six years he came to realize that such hardships were useless and gave up fasting. His five followers now deserted him. At Bodh-Gaya on the banks of the river Nairanjanā, he fell in a trance, and the cure of all pains and sufferings was revealed to him. Thus he became the Buddhā or the Enlightened One. He then went to Sarnath near Benares, where he preached his first sermon and gathered a following in a short time. For the rest of his life he travelled and preached throughout Kosala and Magadha, till he died at Kusinagara (modern Kasia in the Gorakhpur district) at the age of 80 in or about B.C. 483.

According to Buddha sorrow is due to repeated births and its cause is desire or attachment to worldly objects. In trying to get rid of sorrow and suffering man has to follow a middle course, by avoiding both the extremes, *viz.*, a life of hardship and a life of extreme indulgence in the pleasures of life. This middle path or the eight-fold path consists of belief, thought, speech, action and meditation in the proper way.* Buddha believed that this way would lead to the extinction of man's soul, *i.e.*, Nirvāṇa, which is the goal of human life, and without which there can be no deliverance from sorrow. Thus he set before himself a gloomy picture of life which in his opinion was a thing to be got rid of. About God and other similar things, Buddha remained silent, as he was concerned only with the means of attaining

Teach
Buddh

* The eight-fold path recommended by Buddha for the attainment of salvation consists of:—(1) Right view; (2) Right aspiration; (3) Right speech; (4) Right conduct; (5) Right livelihood; (6) Right effort; (7) Right mindfulness; (8) Right meditation.

Nirvāṇa. He spoke against the caste system as an unnatural division of society. He would rather have a gradation according to the virtues of man. He was also very hard on sacrifices and regarded them as useless for getting Nirvāṇa. He declared Vedic rites and practices as useless for salvation and did not acknowledge the superiority of Brāhmaṇas. He did not allow the killing of animals for any purpose.

He laid much stress on moral virtues. If a man does good deeds in this life, he will be reborn in a higher life. Evil deeds are sure to degrade a man to a lower level and hinder his progress towards salvation. Truthfulness, purity of life, charity, self-control are virtues which must be cultivated by everyone.

To his chief disciple Ananda he once said:

“Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth (the Dhamma) as your lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to anyone except yourselves . . . and whosoever, Ananda, either now or after I am dead, shall act thus, it is only they among my recluses who shall reach the very topmost Height. (that is, the Nirvāṇa of Arhatship) . . . and even they must be willing to learn.”

Success of
Buddha.

Many kings and chiefs of Northern India accepted the creed of Buddha because their caste and the caste of the teacher were the same. Buddha preached in the language of the people and instructed his disciples to preach in local dialects. Once some Brāhmaṇas suggested to him that his teachings should be recorded in the language of the Vedas; but Buddha refused as that would make it difficult for the common folk to understand him. The faith that he preached was charming and simple and appealed to the people. It

was moreover served by a number of zealous disciples who carried his message into distant countries. He declared that caste was no bar to the attainment of Nirvāṇa. Men of all classes listened to him and accepted his doctrines. For these reasons Buddhism was able in a short time to get a foothold on the Indian soil. People from all parts of India flocked to the Lord for enlightenment.

After the death of Buddha his disciples wrote down all that they knew about the sayings and doings of their teacher. Later on these scriptures were given the name of Tripitaka (three baskets), consisting of the Vinaya (rules of discipline for the monks and nuns living in the monasteries), Sutta (sayings of the Lord) and Abhidhamma (philosophical discussions). Whenever any doubt was raised regarding the meaning of the scriptures, a council of respectable monks was summoned. There were four such councils the first of which was held immediately after the death of Buddha at Rajgriha. It was convened by Mahākāśyapa, the chief disciple of Buddha. The second council met at Vaiśālī at the time of Kālāśoka a hundred years afterwards. Of the third and fourth councils which met in the reigns of Asoka and Kanishka respectively, we shall hear later on.

Buddha was not only a great teacher, but also a great organizer. His disciples were divided into two classes—the *Upāsakas* or lay disciples who lived with their families and practised his teachings in their daily life and *Bhikshus* or monks who renounced the world and lived the life of ascetics. The monks were organized into a *Samgha* (or religious order) and rules were laid down for its management. The Samgha attained great popularity because all its members enjoyed equal rights and the discourses were given in the language of the people which could be understood by all.

The two religions resemble each other in many respects. They do not admit the sacredness of the Vedas and the efficacy

The
Scriptures.

Buddhist
organization.

Buddhism
and
Jainism.

of rites and do not respect the caste system. Both were patronized at royal courts by Kshatriya kings and were preached in local dialects. Leading a pure life was a necessity according to both. Both emphasized the effect of good and bad deeds on a man's life, his future births and salvation. Both ignored the idea of a Supreme Being and were in favour of organizing religious orders. But on many points they were divided. As we have seen before, the Jaina ideal of salvation is entirely different from the Buddhist ideal. The creed of asceticism and ahimsa was carried to a far greater length by Mahavira than Buddha. Moreover, the Buddhists detested the Jaina practices of moving about naked and committing suicide by starvation.

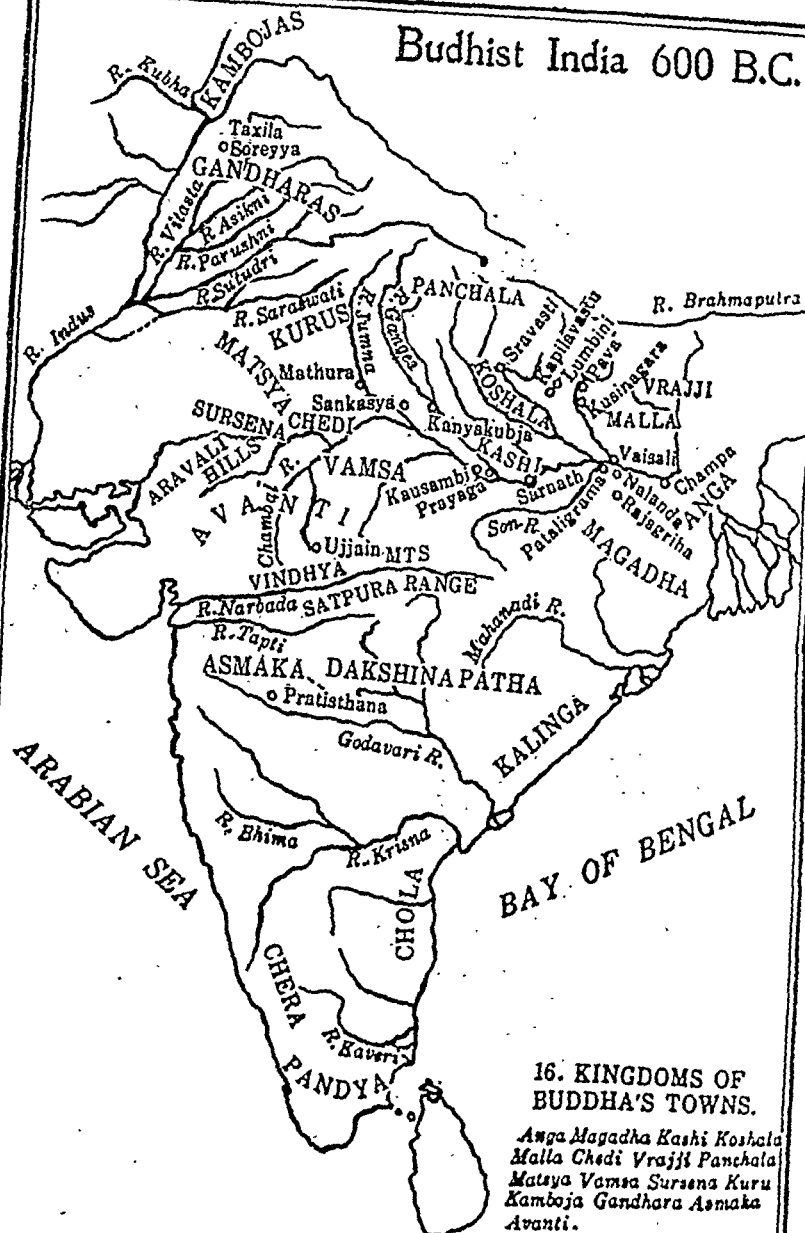
As time passed, the difference between Hinduism and Jainism became less prominent, till at last Jainism became one of the many sects of Hinduism with not very different manners, customs and creeds. The Buddhists made no attempts to reconcile themselves with the Hindus, and this is one of the many reasons why Buddhism at length disappeared from India.

The Buddhists believe that Buddha had to undergo a large number of births before he attained Nirvāṇa in his last birth. These birth stories, many of which are fables, have been collected together and are known as the Jatakas. Their composition extends over a long period. Some of them are illustrated at Sāñchi and belong to the second century B.C. They are a storehouse of information about the social and political condition of India in ancient times.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA IN BUDDHA'S TIME

Towards the close of the seventh century B.C. the whole country occupied by the Aryans was divided into three parts, i.e., Madhyadeśa (middle region), Uttarāpatha

Budhist India 600 B.C.



16. KINGDOMS OF BUDDHA'S TOWNS.

Anga Magadha Kashi Koshala
Malla Chedi Vraji Panchala
Matsya Vamsa Sursena Kuru
Kamboja Gandhara Asmaka
Avanti.

(northern region) and Dakshināpatha (Deccan). The political divisions were sixteen in number of which the most important were:—

- (1) Magadha (South Bihar);
- (2) Kosala (Saketa or Oudh);
- (3) Vatsa (Kosambi or Allahabad); and
- (4) Avanti (Malwa).

Some of these kingdoms were called after the names of the people or tribes who occupied the country comprised in them.

From the Buddhist scriptures, the Mahābhārata as well as other books, we learn that in ancient India there were a number of states which were not ruled by a single king but by a number of persons holding hereditary offices and each bearing the title of Rājā. They are mentioned in the Pāli records and are called after the names of the tribes. The most important of these were the Śākyas, the Bhaggas, the Mallas, the Moriyas, the Videhas, the Lichchavis. The Sanskrit word for these states is 'gaṇa' corresponding roughly to a republic. The most important of these was the Lichchavi principality of Mithila which was the admiration of Buddha. Buddha himself was the son of the Raja of the Śākya clan.

Non-Monarchical States.

○ The administrative business of the clan was done in a public assembly at which the old and young were present. The meetings were held in a mote-hall, a mere roof supported by pillars without walls which was called the Samsthāgāra. All were seated in a specific order. In this assembly the decision was either unanimous or if there was a difference of opinion over any question it was referred to a committee of referees. A single chief was elected to preside over the assembly. He bore the title of Rājā. We learn from the history of the Śākyas that at one time Bhaddiya, a young

Their Government.

cousin of Buddha, was Raja and at another time Buddha's father Śuddhodana held this rank. Decisions were also given according to the will of the majority. This was done by using tickets or *salākās* (sticks). Political life in these small républics seems to have been fairly active and it appears from the Buddhist scripture, the *Vinayapitaka*, that in some of them parliamentary practices of today were not altogether unknown. These states disappeared before the rise of the empire of Magadha.

The Changed
Social
Outlook.

In Western India which was thoroughly Aryanized the Brāhmaṇas had acquired much influence. They laid down rites and ceremonies which every Hindu had to go through. They were exalted above the other castes by reason of their great learning and the devotion to spiritual duties. The centres of Brahmanical influence were the countries occupied by the Kurus, Matsyas, Panchālas and Surasenas. But in the eastern lands (Kasi, Kosala, Videha and Magadha) the people had begun a revolt against Vedic culture. The sacrificial rites and Vedic studies were considered as useless and the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas as a caste was challenged. The Kṣatriyas claimed equality with them and refused to recognize them as the sole custodians of truth and religion. Many of them gave up their earthly possessions and power and became ascetics. They acquired knowledge and culture like the Brāhmaṇas. The examples of Mahavira and Buddha, who were both Kṣatriyas, produced a great effect on them and determined their attitude towards the problems of life.

Caste was declared to be useless but even Buddha could not alter the social organization of his time. Even among the Buddhist monks caste was esteemed. The Kṣatriyas themselves were always anxious about the purity of their blood and married their children inside the caste. An alliance with the lower orders was looked upon as a bad thing.

The lowest castes lived outside the towns but the people do not seem to have been afraid of pollution by touch. The rule which forbade contact with a Chāṇḍala, even if it existed, must have been broken almost every day in actual life.

The village, as ever in India, was the unit of society. It consisted of grouped huts on the margins of the rice-field. The houses were altogether in a group separated only by narrow lanes. The pastureland was common and the cattle roamed over the grazing field in charge of the village herdsman. Men of special crafts such as carpenters, smiths, potters, etc., had villages of their own and so also the Brāhmaṇas. Rice was the chief food of the people though several other kinds of grain are mentioned. Sugarcane, fruits, vegetables and flowers were also cultivated. There were bazars and shops which were well kept. Ivory-work, weaving, jewellery, metal-work, confectionary, hair-dressing and garland-making were in vogue. The title of Setthi or Seth is met with designating a wealthy man. Brāhmaṇas, Setthis and Princes, it is written in the Jatakas, formed friendships, sent their sons to the same teacher. ate together and intermarried without incurring social odium.

Economic
Life.

The affairs of the village were discussed in an open assembly of the householders held in a grove outside the village—a common feature of village life. In every village there was a headman through whom all business of government was done. There was no forced labour. Men and women combined of their own accord to build mote-halls, reservoirs, to repair the roads between one village and another and even to build parks. The people lived a happy and contented life. There were no big landlords and no paupers. There was little crime; whatever there was it was all outside the villages. Disputes were settled according to custom by the village elders. Wealth was hoarded either in the house or under the ground in brazen jars under the river bank or

Social
Condition
in Villages
and Towns.

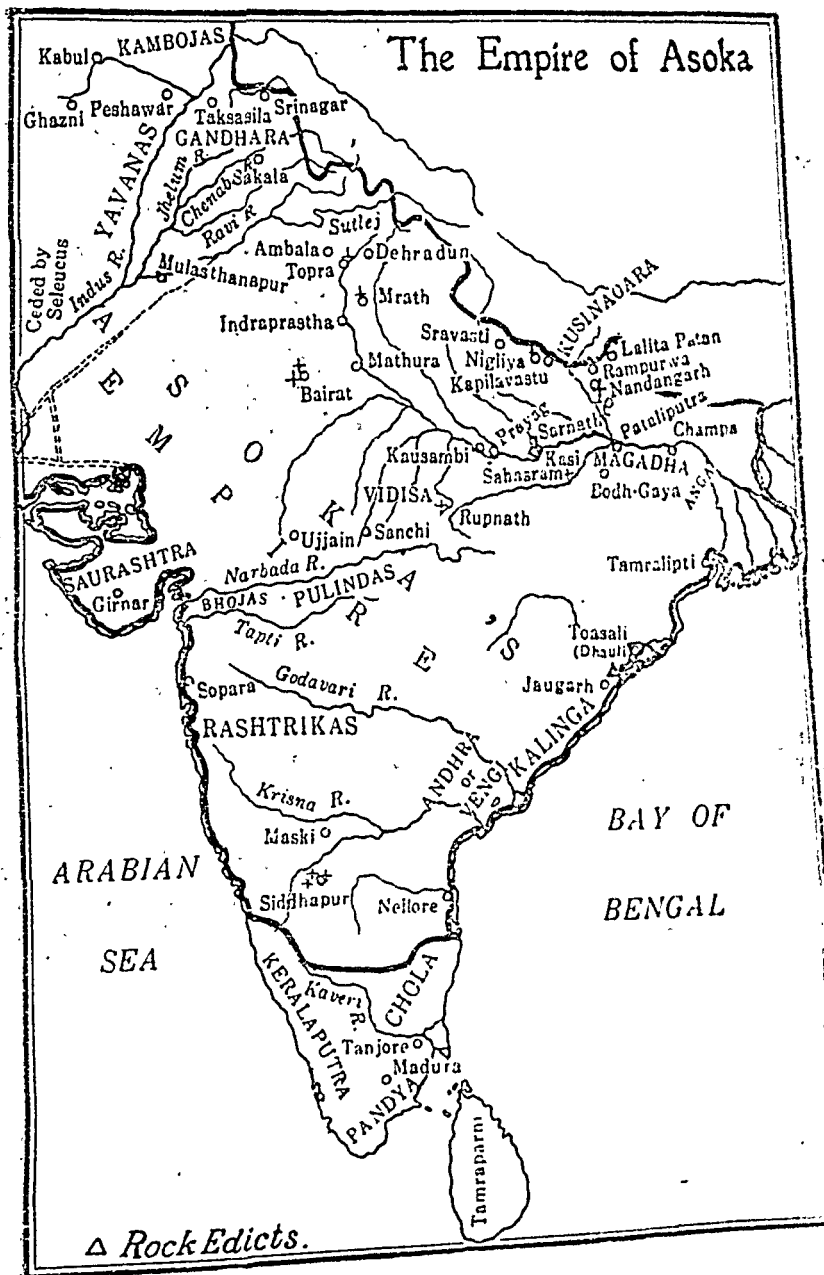
deposited with a friend. The law of debt was severe and sometimes wives and children could be pledged.

The conditions in the towns were far advanced and the Buddhist books reveal a highly developed civilization in the seventh century B.C.

Chronological Summary

			P.O.
Birth of Gautama Buddha	...	...	563
Birth of Mahavira	...	...	540
Death of Gautama Buddha	...	...	483
Death of Mahavira	...	...	468
Division of Jainas into Sects	...	...	300

The Empire of Asoka



CHAPTER VI

THE PRE-MAURYAN AGE

Foreign Invasions

The real history of ancient India begins from 600 B.C. ^{The Ancient} and ends with the death of Harsha in 647 A.D. This period ^{Age.} of more than 1200 years is full of great events. It witnessed the development of the Hindu civilization and institutions and the rise of the two great religions of India, Jainism and Buddhism. Kings became very powerful and gathered all authority in their hands. For the first time a large part of India attained political unity under the Mauryan emperors. The simplicity of the Vedic age gave place to statecraft and finesse. Though large empires were founded, the interests of the people were not neglected. The recognized duty of the king was to protect his people and to follow his *Dharma*. The idea was so deeply rooted in the popular mind that kings were obliged to conform to it in practice. Society grew more complex. The advent of foreigners during this period added a new element to our population. The contact with the Greeks brought into the country new ideas about art and culture but there were other foreigners—the Hunas and Scythians—who disturbed the political organization that existed in the country. Northern India passed through terrible ordeals until peace was established by Harshavardhana towards the beginning of the seventh century A.D. The shock of foreign invasions did not destroy the vitality and vigour of the Indian civilization. Art and culture continued to flourish and some of the greatest works were written during this period

The Four
States.

The political history of India can be traced only from the time of Buddha. As has been said before, there were in his time four big states, each under a powerful and ambitious ruler. They were Avanti (Malwa), Kosala (Oudh), Vatsa (round about Allahabad) and Magadha (Bihar) with their capitals at Ujjayini, Śrāvasti, Kausambi and Rajgriha.

Family of
Bimbisāra.

In the next few centuries after Buddha, Magadha rose to be a great power till at last its emperors ruled over the whole of India. Bimbisāra, who was the ruler of Magadha at the time of Buddha, was a very powerful ruler. He married the sister of Prasenajit of Kosala and the daughters of the chiefs of the Lichchavis of Vaiśālī, of the Kosalas and the Mādras (Punjab) and gave his daughter in marriage to the chief of the Vatsas. After a reign of 52 years (B.C. 543 to 491) he was murdered by his son Ajātaśatru (491 to 459) who had become impatient to seize the throne. This murder enraged Prasenajit who took up arms against his nephew. War continued for some time, and when peace was made, the village of Kasi was given to Ajātaśatru. Ajātaśatru also waged a successful war against the Lichchavis whose principality was annexed to Magadha. He attacked the Vrijjis also, destroyed their capital Vaiśālī and annexed their country. His successor was Udayī, who transferred the capital from Giribbaja (modern Rajgir) to Pātaliputra (Patna). This latter city continued to be the imperial seat of India for many centuries to come.

Śiśunāga.

After two more generations the dynasty of Bimbisāra was uprooted by Śiśunāga, the governor of Kāśī (B.C. 411 to 393). This prince annexed Avanti and thus enhanced his power and prestige.

The Nandas.

The dynasty of Śiśunāga came to an end in the fourth century B.C. The Śiśunāga kings are called Kṣatriyas in the Purāṇas but the last of them Mahānandin married a Śūdra woman and became the founder of a Śūdra dynasty which

lasted for two generations. His son Mahāpadmanada who is described as a man of low caste was a military genius. He conquered the whole of Northern India except the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and some countries of the Deccan. He was a powerful monarch who kept his vassals in subjection. His eight sons ruled after him for some time, till they were destroyed by Chandra Gupta Maurya with the help of the wily Brāhmana Chāṇakya or Kautilya (B.C. 325).

At the time when Magadha was rising into prominence in Northern India and its kings were extending their territories by conquest and marriage alliances, the north-western part of India had to grapple with the foreign invaders from the west. Two invasions are important—the first was that of the Persians and the second of Alexander of Macedon, two hundred years later.

Foreign
Invasions.

The connection between Persia and India goes back to a very early period when the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians were still an undivided family. The two branches kept up their connection even after they had separated from each other. The powers of Western Asia failed to extend their influence to the east as far as India until the time of Cyrus (558—530 B.C.), the founder of the Persian Empire. He conquered Gāndhāra, the region in which are comprised the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the Punjab, and the district of Kabul in Afghanistan.

The Persian
Conquest of
India.

Darius, another Persian Emperor (522—486 B.C.), extended the sphere of Persian influence in the east. He conquered a portion of Northern India about 516 B.C. and the Greek historian Herodotus in giving a list of the 20 satrapies (provinces) of the Persian Empire says that the Indian Kingdom was the 20th division. He says, 'the population of India is by far the greatest of all the people that we know; and they paid a Tribute larger than the rest of the Empire.' The tribute was about a million pounds sterling.

We cannot exactly fix the limits of the Indian Province under Persian sway but it appears that the region of Persian influence comprised the course of the Indus from Kālabāgh to the sea including the whole of Sind and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus.

The contact of Persia and India influenced the Mauryan art. The bell-capital which we find on Asokan pillars, though considered by some to be Indian, bears traces of Persian influence. Certain strange customs prevalent at Taxila such as the exposure of the dead and the ceremony of washing of the King's hair may be traced to Persian influence.

Invasion of
Alexander.

Alexander, the son of Philip and the king of Macedonia (a province in Greece), started on his campaign in B.C. 333 at the age of twenty-two. He conquered every province that fell in his way and defeated the king of Persia in B.C. 330 and in B.C. 327 he appeared on the Indian frontier. The Punjab was at that time divided into a number of principalities. While others were defeated, Ambhī, the king of the Indus-Jhelum doab (capital at Taxila* near Attock), did homage to the conqueror, who then crossed the Jhelum in July, 326 B.C. The king of the region between the Jhelum and the Chenab was a Kṣatriya named Puru whom the Greeks called Poros. He offered resistance to Alexander. In the battle of the Hydaspes (the Greek name for the Jhelum), he fought with great valour, but was captured in a feint and brought before Alexander. The hated traitor, the Raja of Taxila, had not only joined Alexander, he had actually assisted him in overpowering his rival. Alexander was deeply impressed by Puru's courage and admired an enemy 'so splendid in person, brave and proud.' The Raja

* Taxila is said to have been a great city in ancient times. Its ruins can be seen near Hasan Abdāl in the Attock district in the Punjab. It was the seat of a flourishing university.

was asked what kind of treatment should be meted out to him; to this question he bravely replied, 'Like a king.' Alexander, touched by his bravery, treated him courteously and re-instated him in his throne. The Greek army now proceeded to the Beas defeating all the monarchical and non-monarchical states. On the Beas the Greeks heard reports about the vast army of the Nanda king of Pātaliputra. This disheartened the soldiers who refused to advance further. Alexander had to retreat unwillingly and returned to the Jhelum. There he built a fleet and sent a part of his army by sea. He himself took a different route and passing through the desert of Baluchistan reached Babylon. He left India in October 325; his Indian campaign lasted for 19 months. He died at Babylon in B.C. 323 of excessive drink at the age of 32 years.

At the time of Alexander's invasion there were several non-monarchical states in the Punjab. The Greek writers mention the Katha tribe which occupied the country now comprised in the Lahore and Amritsar districts. Their capital was Sākal. Before the coming of Alexander the Kathas had defeated Poros (Puru) in battle.

Alexander
and the Non-
Monarchical
States.

On his return march Alexander had to fight against several non-monarchical states the chief of which were Kshudraka, Mālava and Shibi in the tract of land adjoining the country of the Jhelum and Chenab, rivers. They had an army numbering 100,000 men. Even the Greeks were impressed by their military strength and Alexander was induced to make a treaty with them.

These republican states continued in India down to the days of the Guptas. With their rise began an age of imperialism and the little republics of North India disappeared one by one before the might of the new emperors.

Alexander's campaign in India consists in defeating only the small chiefs of the Punjab; he never came in conflict with

Effect of the
Invasion.

the emperor of Magadha with whom he would certainly have found his task more difficult. Like all subsequent invaders, the Greeks were cruel to the conquered; cities were sacked and the inhabitants plundered and murdered or sold as slaves. According to the Greek writers themselves 80,000 Indians were killed in the campaign of the lower Indus alone. Considering the cruelty, the bloodshed and the atrocities that accompanied this invasion we cannot resist the conclusion that Alexander was no better than the later conquerors like Timur and Nadir-shah who harried the plains of India and robbed her wealth. Nor did the Greeks of this generation leave any influence on Indian culture. Alexander utterly failed to create the world-empire of which he had dreamt.

Though Alexander's invasion was a passing event, it produced one important effect on the political condition of the country. The smaller states in Northern India gradually disappeared and were included in the empire of Magadha. This was the first attempt at establishing unity in the land. The great minds of India refused to notice the Greek invasion as is shown by the fact that no Brahmanical or Buddhist writer has made mention of it.

Chronological Summary.

			B.C.
Accession of Bimbisāra	...	...	513
The Indian Conquest of Darius	...	...	516
Accession of Ajātaśatru	...	...	491
Accession of Udayī	...	...	459
Accession of Śiśunāga	...	...	411
Annexation of Avanti	...	...	110
Accession of the Nandas	...	...	345
Alexander Crosses the Indus	...	March	325
Alexander Leaves India	...	October	325
Death of Alexander	...	...	323

CHAPTER VII

✓ THE MAURYAN EMPIRE AND AFTER

About the same time that Alexander departed from India, a dynastic revolution was taking place in Magadha. A young man, Chandragupta Maurya by name, defeated the mighty Nanda emperor and himself came to the throne in B.C. 325 or a little later. The popular tradition that makes him the son of Nanda and Mura, a low-caste woman, does not seem to be true. The fact may be that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a princess of the Mauryas who were a powerful Kṣatriya clan according to the Buddhists. He is said to have held the position of Senapati or Commander-in-Chief under the Nandas. But being an ambitious man, he quarrelled with them and conspired with some others to seize the throne. The attempt failed and he fled to the Punjab where he is said to have met Alexander. He formed an alliance with the Chiefs of the Punjab and the Himalayan districts and invaded the empire of Magadha. The details of the campaign are not known but it is certain that the Nanda king was defeated and killed and his capital was occupied.

Accession of
Chandra-
gupta.

Stories are still current that Chandragupta was helped in this revolution by a Brahmana Chāṇakya or Kautilya by name who had his own grudge against the Nandas. He was the author of a famous book on politics, known as the *Arthaśāstra*, which is a mine of information on all matters, political, social and economic. A Sanskrit drama, known as the *Mudrārākṣasa*, records how the diplomacy of Chāṇakya ended in the utter destruction of the Nandas and the accession of Chandragupta.

Chandragupta conquered the whole of Northern India and most probably a good portion of the Deccan too. The western provinces of Sind, Kathiawad, Gujarat and Malwa were also

included in the empire. But it is doubtful whether Bengal and Orissa formed part of his empire.

Seleucus
Nikator.

Seleucus, who was a general of Alexander became the ruler of Syria after his master's death and soon overshadowed all other generals. Like Alexander he wanted to conquer India. By B.C. 305 he crossed the Indus, but the Greeks did not meet with any success this time. Seleucus had to retire and sign a humiliating treaty by which he had to cede Afghanistan and Beluchistan to Chandragupta. The latter married his daughter and gave 500 elephants as presents to his father-in-law. Seleucus sent an envoy Megasthenes by name to the court of Chandragupta. Megasthenes wrote an account of the administration of the Mauryan empire and the social condition of the people which has come down to us through Greek writers.

Achievements
of Chandra-
gupta.

After ruling for a period of 24 years with an iron hand Chandragupta handed down the crown to his son Bindusāra in about B.C. 300. Chandragupta's reign marks a definite epoch in Indian history. Under him and his dynasty India saw her biggest empire from the earliest times to the present day. The administration was efficient and there was no revolt to disturb the peace of the country. The Greeks learnt their lesson well and did not make any attempt on India for a century after Seleucus.

The System
of govern-
ment.

The tribal kingship of the Vedic times had receded into the background. The Mauryan emperor was the type of a new monarch. He represented the political unity of a large part of India under a single ruler. He was an autocrat but he seldom did what he liked. The idea that a king is the father of his subjects was common among the people and served as a check upon him. His duties were well defined. He was expected to protect the poor and the weak.

The king was assisted by a number of ministers who formed his council (*mantriparishad*) which gave advice on

matters of state. There was an inner cabinet consisting of the *Mantrin* or prime-minister, the *Purohita* or royal priest, the *Senāpati* or Commander of the troops and the *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent. Below them there were several officers who controlled the various branches of the administration. The most important of these were the *Samahartri* who dealt with the income of the state, the *Sannidhātri* who had the charge of the royal treasury and storehouses and the *Pradeshtri* the head of the revenue and judicial services. Then there were the *Antapālas* and *Durgapālas* who guarded the fortresses of the empire. The chief ministers were generally hereditary except the *Purohita* or the royal priest and were all of the Kṣatriya class.

The empire was divided into provinces which were usually governed by Princes of the royal family assisted by the *Prādeshtikas*. Each province had a number of *Janapadas* which were divided into *Gaṇas* or *Sthānas* and these again into *Grāmas* or villages.

The villages managed their affairs. The village headman decided the rights of the people with the advice of the elders in the *Panchayat*. Above him were the *Gopas* and *Sthānikas* whose authority extended over a large area. The cities were similarly self-governed. The chief officer of the city was called the *Nāgarika* whose duty was like the modern Kotwal, to keep records of persons and property and to keep an eye on sarais, places of amusements and sales in the market. He was also to watch the conduct of strangers.

All land in the empire belonged to the crown. No private person was allowed to possess land. The interests of the peasants were well protected. They were required to pay one-fourth of the produce of the land. The artisans were exempt from taxation.

The king was the highest judge in the land. Every day he appeared in the Audience-Hall to which the public were

admitted to lay their grievances before him. The disputes were settled by *Panchayats* or officials and appeals were heard by the king.

According to Megasthenes the criminal law was severe. For slight offences hands and feet were cut off. Ordeal was in vogue. A person convicted of giving false evidence had to suffer mutilation. If anyone caused an artisan to lose his hand or eye, he was put to death. Crime was rare and litigation not much.

The spies or secret agents were employed by the king as well as by his officials. They knew several languages and dialects and could skilfully disguise themselves when required to do so. The king was always afraid of poison and murder. His place was well guarded. Every thing entering the palace was registered, and Megasthenes goes so far as to say that the king changed his room every night. The luxury of the court knew no bounds. Gold and jewellery abounded everywhere in the palace. The king looked into every detail of the administration and so his daily routine was very heavy. Still he found time to be accessible to the people.

The administration was well-disposed towards the foreigners. Officers were asked to look after their comfort. The judges decided their cases with great care and dealt severely with those who troubled them. When a foreigner fell ill, he was treated by the physicians of the state and if he died, his property was made over to his heirs and relatives.

* As the empire rested on force, the military system was well organized. The officers of the army were divided into six Boards with five members each. They were entrusted with the management of the fleet, Commissariat, infantry, cavalry, war-chariots and elephants. The army was very powerful and was composed of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and numerous chariots.

As Chandragupta was a usurper, he had to rely much upon military strength and the use of drastic methods. After his death, the administration underwent a great change when Asoka employed the entire organization of the state to further the cause of *Dharma* or piety.

According to Megasthenes, Pātaliputra, which lay on the confluence of the Son and the Ganges, was nine miles long and one mile and a half broad, surrounded by a wooden wall with 64 gates and 500 domes and towers. Beyond the wall was a deep ditch to prevent any sudden attack on the capital. The king's palace was made of wood but it was unrivalled in beauty and magnificence. The city was governed by six boards of five members each. The boards looked after the management of industries, the welfare of the foreigners, census, supervision of trade and commerce, manufactured articles and collection of taxes from merchants.

The Indians lived a frugal life especially when they were in camp. Theft was rare among them. Their laws were simple. They seldom went to the law. They were so honest that they required no seals or witnesses about pledges and deposits and trusted each other. They left their houses and property unguarded. Truth and virtue were highly esteemed by them. Slavery was not known. Caste existed and inter-marriage was not allowed. The people loved finery and ornaments and celebrated their festivals with great pomp and show. The Brahmanas abstained from animal food and the grosser pleasures. They spent their time in study and discussion. Image worship was prevalent in the country, and the gods commonly worshipped were Viṣṇu and Śiva. Some interesting customs prevailed in the Punjab such as the selling of marriageable girls, the burning of widows, etc.

Regarding the economic condition of the people Megasthenes writes that the Indians followed numerous crafts especially in metals and textiles. The traders were partly,

Pātaliputra.

Megasthenes
on the
Social and
Economic
Condition of
the People.

state officials in charge of royal merchandise or in superintendence of matters connected with prices and sales. There were rich Seths who had much influence. Trade was brisk. Precious articles of gold, silver and spices came from all parts of India and jewels and pearls came from South India, Ceylon and beyond the seas, and muslin, cotton and silk from China and further India. The officials recorded in writing who the merchants were, from where they came and where they went. Merchants were not allowed to combine for fixing prices. The prices of ordinary goods were fixed and they were proclaimed daily by officials. All weights and measures were inspected. There were export and import duties. The king was himself a great trader, owned factories and workshops and maintained storehouses throughout the country. The state provided for the poor and indigent, and for helpless and destitute women spinning houses were provided. The right of currency was reserved to the king.

the *Arthaśāstra*.

Kautilya drew up a scheme of government for the guidance of the king. This is embodied in the famous book called the *Arthaśāstra*. The king should have three or four ministers and also a larger council, the strength of which is not defined. The officer called *Sannidhātṛi* was to manage the royal household, treasury, currency, etc. The *Samahātṛi* was the collector-general of taxes and tolls. The administration was to be carried on by about twenty-five superintendents (*adhyaksha*), acting under the ministers and other big officers. Kautilya also details his system of provincial, municipal and judicial administration. The king was to be kind to his people and look after their welfare. But the punishments prescribed were severe; death sentence was to be inflicted for small offences. In foreign policy there is nothing unfair according to Kautilya.

Bindusāra.

Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta, came to the throne about B.C. 300. Nothing important is known about his reign,

except that he had friendly relations with the neighbouring Greek chiefs. He died about the year B.C. 274, and was succeeded by his son Asoka.

According to some stories Asoka came to the throne after murdering ninety-nine brothers. The story does not seem to be true; but it is quite probable that he had to fight for the throne with his brothers, who ultimately yielded place to him. Though he came to the throne in B.C. 274, his coronation was delayed by four years. On his accession he took the titles of *Priyadarsī* (of gracious look) and *Devānāmpriya* (dear to the gods). In or about B.C. 262 he invaded and annexed the kingdom of *Kalinga* (Orissa). The heavy slaughter and the misery of the war created the greatest repentance in the heart of Asoka and he decided not to wage war any more. Shortly after this event Asoka came in touch with Buddhist monks, who converted him to their creed. By B.C. 258, Asoka became a zealous Buddhist and started propagating it among the people.

Asoka adopted a new method of conveying his message to the people. He set up pillars in many parts of the country and engraved inscriptions on them. The surfaces of some rocks were smoothed and inscriptions were written on them too. The former set of inscriptions are known as *Pillar Edicts* and the latter as *Rock Edicts*.* In many of his inscriptions Asoka sets forth what is the true Dharma (Dhamma) that people were asked to practise. It is obedience to parents and elders, respect for teachers, proper treatment to Brahmanas and (Buddhist) monks, relatives, servants and the poor, non-injury to animal life, mercy, gift, purity, etc. His teachings

* In the United Provinces there is a set of rock edicts at Kalsi near Dehradun and of pillar edicts at Allahabad (inside the Fort) and Sarnāth (near Benares).

The pillar edicts are 7 in number and the rock edicts 14.

were so simple that anybody could practise them even without being a Buddhist. Though they are drawn from Buddhist texts, they are common to all religions.

Asoka's
Dhamma
(Dharma).

Asoka was a Buddhist but he had respect for old religions. He was tolerant. He issued a separate edict in which he declared the principle of toleration thus:—

“He who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to embrace the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his sect for such a man lacks the essentials of religion.”

Dharma is described in an edict as non-injury, restraint, equal treatment and mildness. This Dharma could be followed by all, even by followers of other sects. All people of high and low degree were asked to practise the Dharma. The officers were asked to enjoin charities on all, the rich and the poor, and pillars were placed throughout the country with his teachings inscribed on them. His object was not to get name and fame but that his descendants should follow in his footsteps and promote the good of the people. The libraries and books of old have been destroyed, but these pillars still remain to speak of his noble and pious work.

Spread of
Buddhism.

Asoka was a great patron of Buddhism. He became the head of the Buddhist church. In the twenty-first year of his reign the Third Buddhist Council was held at Pataliputra. The differences were noted and the doctrine was settled. After the council was over, Asoka sent missionaries to Kashmir, Gāndhāra, Bactria, the Himalayan regions, South India and to outside countries including Ceylon, Pegu and the Eastern Archipelago as well as the Greek Kingdoms of Syria and Egypt ruled by Alexander's successors. The Ceylonese mission was headed by his son Prince Mahendra

and his daughter Sanghamitrā, who carried to Ceylon branch of the tree under which Buddha had attained Nirvāṇa at Bodh-Gaya.

To advance the cause of Dharma he appointed officers who were to go on tours to preach morality and religion among all sects. He declared that in his kitchen only three living creatures were slaughtered, 2 peacocks and one antelope and even these were to be stopped in future. Sacrifice was not allowed at the capital. Popular plays accompanied by animal fighting, drinking of wine, etc., were forbidden. In place of these he introduced other shows and entertainments. He undertook pilgrimages to holy places and visited Buddha's birth place.

Asoka was keenly interested in the material advancement of his people. He established medical hospitals for men and beasts. By the road-side wells were dug and trees bearing shade and fruits were planted. He tried his best to save his subjects from the tyranny of officials. The beasts were also the object of his tender care. Like men they were given medical aid in hospitals. By an order he checked the killing of animals on some days in the year.

Public Welfare.

These activities could be successful only by the personal exertion of the emperor. He was ready to do the business of the state at any time in the day and night and still he was not satisfied with his work.

Asoka's ideal of kingship was very high. It is contained in these words:—

The Government of Asoka.

“All men are my children and just as I desire for my children that they may obtain every kind of welfare and happiness both in this and the next world, so I desire for all men.”

He worked hard and did public business at all hours and places. Whether he was dining or he was in the harem or in

the bed-room or in the pleasure grounds, the officials were ordered to report to him the people's affairs. He toured in the country not for pleasure but to know the condition of his subjects.

The empire was divided into two kinds of provinces—the important ones were placed in charge of the princes of the royal blood while the others were entrusted to governors. Four Viceroyalties are mentioned in the edicts—Gāndhāra with its capital at Takshashilā (Taxila), the southern province with its capital at Suvarnagiri, Kalinga with its capital at Tosali (modern Dhauli) and the central province which had its headquarters at Ujjayini (Ujjain). Even a Yavana was appointed as governor of Saurashtra and Kathiawad as we learn from Rudradāman's Junagarh inscription. The Vice-roys were assisted by the Mahāmātras or ministers who had a number of officers under them. Three other officers are mentioned in the edicts, namely, the Prādeshtikas, Rājūkas and Yuktas. The first dealt with the revenue and the police. They are compared to nurses entrusted with the care of children. The second was an important officer for 'he was set over hundreds and thousands of souls.' His duty was to measure the land and fix boundaries. The Yuktas were chiefly district officers who received the king's revenue and managed his property. Every five years the leading officers were to go on tour throughout the kingdom in order to teach the moral law to the people. Special officers known as the Dharma-mahāmātras were appointed to teach piety, to redress the wrongs of the people and to manage the charities of the royal household. Censors were appointed to see that the emperor's regulations about Dharma were observed by the people. They were asked to look after the conduct of men of all sects and classes and even the members of the royal family. All men were officially required to cultivate the virtues of compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness and

saintliness. The emperor enjoined upon his officers the duty of being prompt in the despatch of business and himself set an example in this respect. There was no arbitrary imprisonment. Officers were rebuked for doing improper acts. Great regard was shown for orphans, widows, the helpless and the aged and infirm. A special department of Dharma was created. War was stopped and the king tried to banish fear and suspicion from the minds of his subjects and neighbouring kings. The states on the border, much smaller than his, were treated as friends. The Yavanas, Kambojas and the Gāndhāras on the N.-W. Frontier were regarded as equal friends and Asoka sent to them his messages of love and goodwill. Even the forest folk were treated kindly. The king laid stress upon moral conquest and in a special edict declared that the glory of a ruler did not lie in his physical conquests but in the moral progress of his people.

The empire of Asoka extended over the whole of India as far south as the northern portion of the district of Mysore. Towards the north and north-west it included Kashmir, the Himalayan region and portion of the country now comprised in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Down below, the entire middle country from the Punjab and Sind to Bihar and Bengal in the east and the whole of Western and Central India from Gujarat and Malwa to the province of Kalinga were included in the empire. Across the Vindhya the sway of Asoka extended over the whole country to the Penar river. The kingdoms of the Far South, the Chola, Chera, Pandya and Satiyaputra were independent. On the frontiers of the empire both in the north-west and the south there were semi-independent kingdoms which owned the suzerainty of Asoka.

Asoka is one of the greatest kings in history. He introduced very high ideals in politics. The chief conquest, said he, is that of right and not of might. He loved his subjects and tried to promote their welfare by all the means

The Extent
of the
Empire.

Character
of Asoka.

in his power. The rich and poor all alike received his attention and during his tours he acquainted himself with the condition of the people and helped them to better their lives. He was kind to all, and his charity made no distinction between Buddhists and non-Buddhists. He was highly tolerant and asked others to be so. He laid stress upon moral virtues and in one of his edicts said.

"Father and mother must be obeyed; similarly respect for living creatures must be enforced; truth must be spoken. The teacher must be revered by the pupil and proper courtesy must be shown to relations."

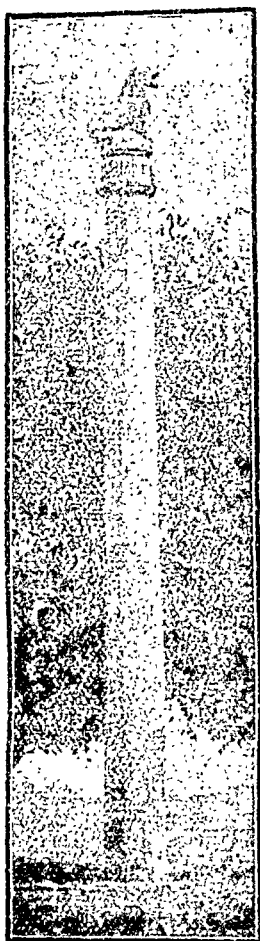


Ashoka's Inscription.

Ashoka lived like a true missionary preaching and practising Dharma. Indeed across the pages of history he shines like a star and there is no other king who can be placed by his side.

The social condition of India under Asoka underwent a great change. The rule of Dharma was established all over the country and the influence of this was felt in the life of the people. There were many sects such as Brahmanas, Shrāmanas, Ājjivikas, etc., but the State treated them impartially and asked them to show toleration, respect for truth and restraint of speech. There were many ascetics in the country and some of them rendered useful social service. Sometimes even princes and princesses became missionaries and went into distant lands to preach the law of piety. The religious outlook of the people was catholic. Men freely went on sea-voyage and did not lose their caste. Foreigners were sometimes converted to Hinduism and public opinion did not condemn such a thing. A Greek was converted to Buddhism and was given the name of Dharmarakṣita. Literacy was common as is shown by Asoka's edicts on which his teachings are engraved in the vernaculars. There were monasteries and Pathshalas all over the country and Dr. V. Smith writes about the educational progress of the people thus:—

Social Life
of Asoka's
Time.



Lauriya-Nandangarh Pillar.

"I think it likely that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Asoka's

time was higher than it is now in many provinces of British India."



Lion Capital (Sārnāth).

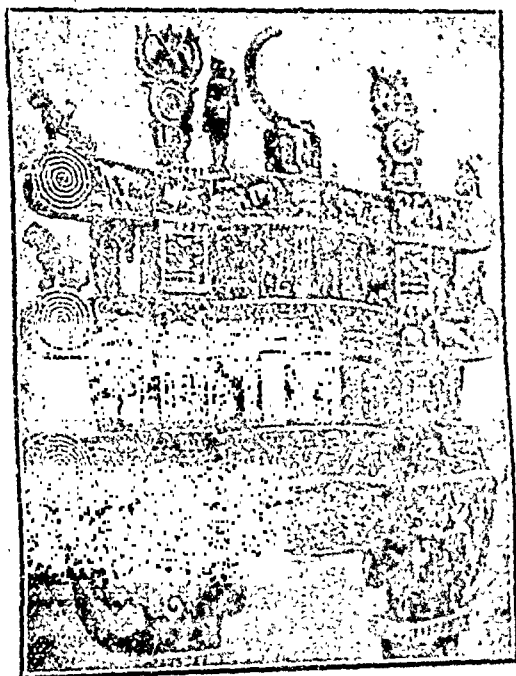
The life of the four castes, the Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and the Sudras which are mentioned in the empire

was happy and moral. Men treated their relatives, friends, even servants and animals with kindness and supported those who left their homes in search of truth. Polygamy and early marriage were in vogue. Asoka had several wives. He married at the age of 18 and his eldest daughter was married when she was only 14. Meat-eating was growing less and the tendency towards vegetarianism was on the increase. The Purdah system did not exist as we know it now, but ladies lived in inner closed apartments. The Hindu women then as now observed many trivial and unnecessary rites at the time of birth, starting on a journey and so on. Even Asoka observes that womankind perform many useless and trivial rites.

Asoka was a great builder. It is said he built many cities, stupas, vihārs, monasteries and pillars bearing inscriptions, and this is confirmed to some extent by his edicts. He founded the city of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and another city in Nepal which he is said to have visited with his daughter Chārumatī and her Kṣatriya husband Devapāla. The palace of Asoka was so beautiful that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited India about nine hundred years later guessed that no human hand could have built it. He was greatly struck by the elegant carving and in-laid sculpture work. Most of Asoka's buildings have perished but the stupas at Sañchi (Bhopal State) and Bharhut (in Baghelkhand, 95 miles south-west of Allahabad) are striking monuments. Asoka built many pillars which are found in all parts of the country, some of the most well-known being those of Sañchi, Allahabad, Sarnāth and Lauriya-Nandangarh. Some of these have lion capitals. The pillar at Delhi was removed by Firuz Tughluq from Topra (Meerut District) in 1356. It is a fine specimen of the architecture of that age. Its execution and polish are excellent. The engineering skill

Mauryan
Art.

shown in raising these monoliths must have been of a high order. The animals carved on the Sārnāth pillar are, according to Sir John Marshall, masterpieces both in point of style and technique—the finest carving that India has produced, ‘unsurpassed by anything in the ancient world.’ The stone-cutters showed wonderful skill and did things

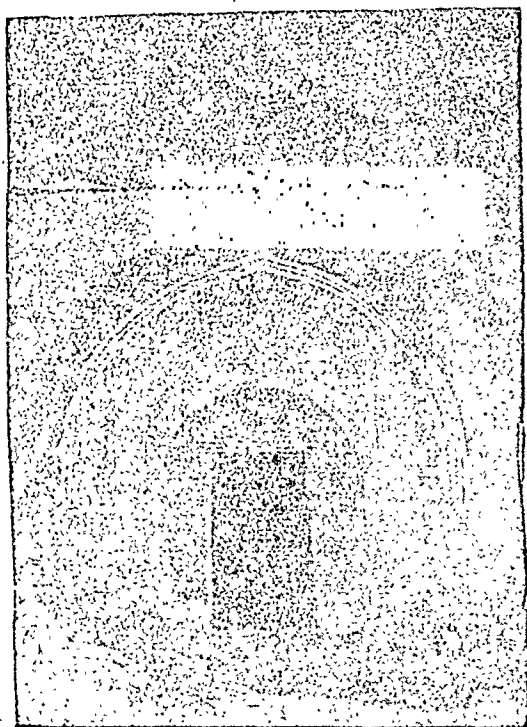


Stupa-Gata (Sañchi).

which it would be impossible for the artists of the twentieth century to accomplish. There are caves bearing inscriptions of Asoka and his successors. They are situated in the Barābar hills near Gaya and are seven in number. They have the bright Mauryan polish, shining like mirrors from their walls as well as roofs. The Mauryan craftsmen were

greatly distinguished in the jeweller's art. They cut and polished stones with great skill and success.

Some scholars have traced the influence of Greek and Persian art in the art of the Mauryan age and there is



Lomash Rishi (Barabar Cave).

evidence of this. Foreigners came and settled in India in those days; Asoka had intimate relations with the most famous western countries. It is possible that the art of these countries may have contributed something to the art of India.

Asoka's
Place in
History.

Asoka occupies a unique place in history. There is no king who did so much for his people. His ideal was not merely the brotherhood of man but of all living beings. He felt for the whole world and tried to promote its physical as well as spiritual happiness by preaching Dharma. His kindness extended even to the mute world of animals. Through his wonderful missionary activities in the neighbouring countries he raised Buddhism from a local creed to a world-religion. As a result of these activities Indian colonization began in the Eastern Archipelago and Indian culture penetrated into distant lands. The real test of the greatness of a ruler is whether he makes the world any the happier and better in his time. Judged by this test Asoka amply deserves the title of great. After reviewing the conduct of some of the greatest kings in history a western writer (H. G. Wells) says of Asoka:—

“Amidst the tens and thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star, from the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness.”

But Asoka's exclusive devotion to spirituality weakened the martial spirit of the people and gradually prepared the way for the final break-up of the empire.

Decline of
the Empire.

The successors of Asoka were weak men who had neither the strength nor the will to control such a large empire. Asoka had neglected the army and abandoned the military policy of his forefathers. His sons and grandsons were asked to avoid bloodshed and take pleasure

in patience and gentleness. The martial spirit was weakened. After his death the foreigners began to come to India and the Maurya emperors were powerless to check their advance. The opposition of Brahmins might have been a cause of the decline of the empire but it does not appear that Asoka treated the Brahmins harshly. The real cause of the decline was the oppression of the imperial governors in the outlying parts of the empire. Official misbehaviour produced discontent, and when the foreigners entered the country the people, who were tired of misrule, found their desired opportunity.

The last Maurya king Brihadratha was killed by his Brahmin general Pushyamitra during a military review in 184 B.C. Pushyamitra himself became king, although he continued to call himself a Senāpati (Commander) even after his usurpation. His empire extended as far south as the Narmada and included Pātaliputra and Vidiśā. The Greek king Demetrios also invaded Northern India during his reign and advanced up to Oudh but he was repelled by Pushyamitra. So great was Pushyamitra's power that he performed two horse-sacrifices and thus revived the past glory of Brahmanism. According to the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (a drama) Pushyamitra's sacrificial horse was detained by the Greeks on the southern bank of the Sindhu river (not the Indus but some other river) but the emperor's grandson defeated them and rescued the horse. The Śungas were followers of orthodox Brahmanism but they never persecuted the Buddhists. Pushyamitra died in or about 149 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra who was in his turn succeeded by Vasumitra. The tenth king of the line, the young and dissolute Devabhūmi was killed by his Brahmin minister Vasudeva, the Kāṇva, after a reign of 10 years, and the latter usurped the throne of Pātaliputra. But his kingdom was very small. The kings of the house of

Th
the
Empire.

Pushyamitra still continued to rule over parts of Northern India.

The Kānvas.

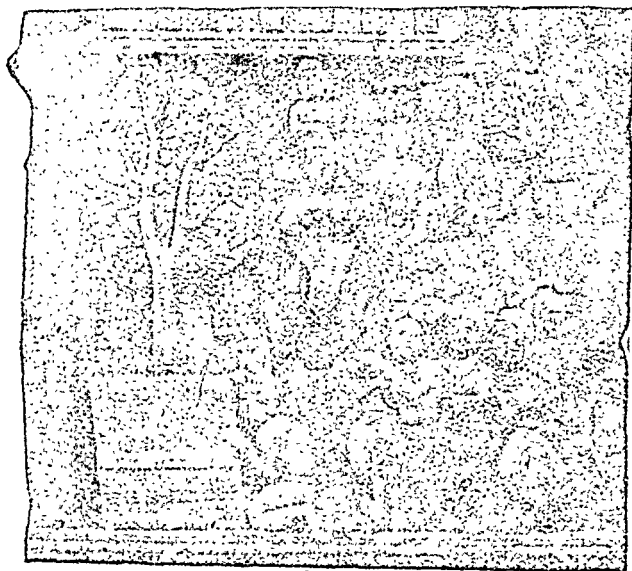
Vasudeva became king of Pātaliputra in 72 B.C. The Kānva kings ruled only over Magadha and their power was soon overthrown by the Śātavāhanas of Southern India. The Śātavāhanas are called the Andhras in the Puranas because they invaded Magadha through the Andhra or Telugu-speaking country. The Kānvas could offer but feeble resistance to the Śātavāhanas and were easily overthrown (27 or 28 B.C.). Fortune favoured the Śātavāhanas and their rule at one time extended from the Himalayas to the river Tungbhadra in the South.

Social Life
under the
Śungas and
Kānvas—
184—27 B.C.

The Śungas and Kānvas both were Brahmanas and with their accession to political power Brahmanism began to flourish again. Pushyamitra was a great patron of Sanskrit learning and culture. He encouraged the orthodox religion of the Brahmanas. Buddhism now declined in importance and Vedic sacrifice and ritual were revived again. It was during Pushyamitra's reign that Pātañjali wrote his famous commentary called the *Mahābhāṣya* on Panini's grammar. The laws were codified, and ancient texts were studied by scholars and systematically arranged. The best legal work of the time is the *Manusmṛiti* or *Mānavadharmasūtra* which deals with every aspect of Hindu life. It gives a high place to Brahmanas in the social order, disallows the marriage of widows, lays down rules for guidance in daily life. It restricts the liberty of women but says that gods dwell where women are honoured. Caste is made to depend on birth and a new grouping of men is suggested, but even caste does not seem to be rigid in practice. The greatest achievement of the Brahman rulers was the rearrangement of the epics of India—the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Differences among the Buddhists continued in spite of the council held in Asoka's time to prevent schism in the

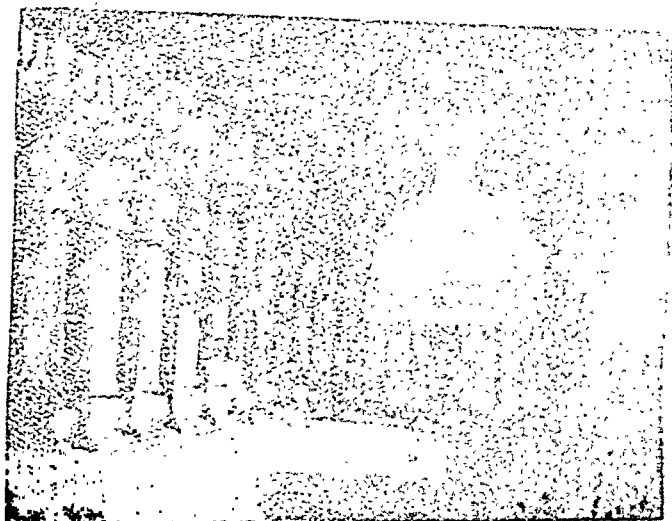
church. There was reaction against the Buddhistic ban on sacrifices and ritual. Pushyamitra performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice according to Vedic rites and compelled the other princes to acknowledge his supremacy. Between Buddhism and orthodox Brahmanism which still laid stress on Vedic rites, two new sects of the *Bhāgavatas* and *Śaivas* arose which acquired considerable importance. The *Bhāgavatas*



Bharhut Stupa.

worshipped Vasudeva Krishna and their centre was Mathura. The cult gradually spread in many parts of India and reached as far as the river Krishna in the South. Even foreigners adopted the cult and described themselves as *Bhāgavatas*. By the second century B.C. the sect was admitted into the fold of orthodox Brahmanism and began to be popularly known as *Vaiṣṇavism*. The other god worshipped during the period was *Śiva*. Like *Bhāgavatism* the cult of *Śiva* also attracted the foreigners. The *Kushan*

king Kadphises became a Saiva as is shown by the figure of Śiva on his coins. Temples were built for the worship of these gods and new rites came into vogue. The Vedic gods lost their importance and some of them were completely forgotten.



Maurya Chaitya.

The Maurya buildings were grand and beautiful but they were not so richly carved or decorated as the monuments of this period. Sculpture made progress and we find elaborate relief work on stupas, Viharas, gateways, and railings. The finest examples of this art are to be found at Bhārhut (Nāgodh State), and Amrāvati (Guntur district, Madras). They depict scenes from Buddha's life with a beauty and skill which is unrivalled. The art of these reliefs gives us a picture of the age in which it was produced. It represents the scenes of human life—scenes of luxury and pleasure interrupted only by death. The Bhārhut stupa

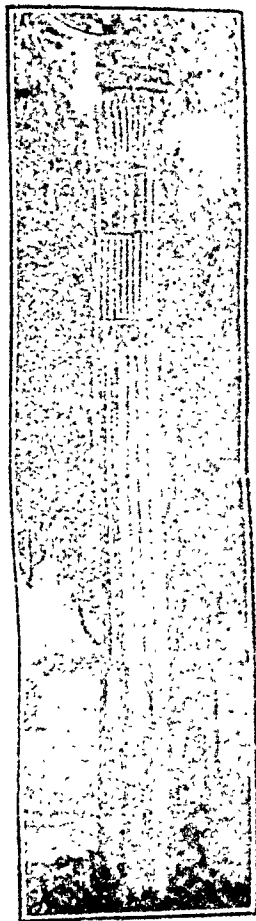
belongs to the second century B.C. Besides the scenes from Buddha's life the reliefs represent animals such as elephants, deer and monkeys with greater skill than in any sculpture of the world. Some of the most important monuments of this period are the old Vihara at Bhājā near Poona, the Chaitya



Nasik Cave Temple (Śātavāhana Dynasty).

halls at Nasik and Karle, the Stupa at Amrāvati, the Garuda pillar at Besanagar (near Bhilsa in C.P.) erected about 140 B.C. in honour of Vāsudeva by Heliodorus, envoy of the ruler of Taxila, who became a Bhāgavata. Besides these, a number of temples and monasteries were built and caves were cut out of rocks in several places.

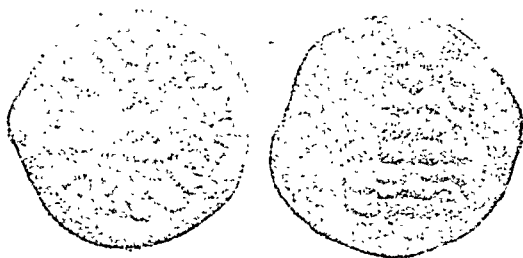
Painting was practised and the walls and ceilings of these buildings were decorated with pictures. The earliest



Besanagar column raised
by a Greek to Vishnu.

examples of this art are to be found in the world-famed caves at Ajanta and the Jogimara cave in the Sirgujā state in Orissa.

The first century B.C. saw the rise of a powerful dynasty in the Deccan called the Śātavāhanas. The founder of this dynasty was Śimuka (100 B.C.), whose capital was Pratishthāna (modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions). The next king Śātakarni described as son of Śimuka extended his dominion from the mouth of the Krishna to the whole of the Deccan plateau and performed a horse sacrifice. In the last century B.C. the Śātavāhanas overthrew the last Kānva ruler and destroyed what remained of the Sunga power and seized the territories of Magadha. Thus a great empire was established whose sway extended



Śātavāhana coins.

both in the north and south. For a hundred years the empire progressed well. But the Śātavāhanas suffered much from the attacks of Scythian and Parthian invaders and the western Kshatrapas of Malwa and Kathiawad who snatched away a portion of the territories belonging to them. The greatest of the satraps of Central India who called themselves Kshaharatas was Nahapāna who might have come to the throne in 85 A.D. He snatched Maharashtra from the Śātavāhanas and established a large kingdom for himself which extended as far north as Ajmer and included Kathiawar, Western Gujarat, Western Malwa, Northern Konkan, the Nasik and Poona districts. The fortunes of the dynasty were retrieved by Gautamiputra Śātkarni, a

remarkable ruler, who probably came to the throne in 107 A.D. He defeated and killed Nahapāna and annexed all the country held by the latter. Gautamiputra died after a glorious reign of 25 years and was succeeded by his son Vaśiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. It was about this time that Malwa and Kathiawad were united under Rudradāman, a powerful western satrap, who is said to have fought long and hard against the Śātavāhana king and defeated him. The hostilities were ended for the time by the marriage of Pulumāvi with Rudradāman's daughter but the struggle was again revived. The last great ruler of the dynasty was Yajña Sri Śātkarni who distinguished himself by conquest, but found it difficult to shake off the yoke of the Kshatrapas. The Śātavāhana empire disappeared from history about 225 A.D. after exercising sway over large territories for nearly 350 years. The chief causes of the downfall of the Śātavāhanas were their struggle with the Śākas, the disloyalty of the provincial governors and the invasions of the Nāgas, Abhiras and other tribes.

The western satraps conquered a part of the Deccan and continued to rule over it for more than a hundred years. The rest of the empire was divided among new dynasties such as the Abhīras, Kadambas, and Ikshvākus.

The ancient dynasties of the Deccan, the Chera, Chola and Pandya continued their prosperous career after the fall of the Śātavāhana kings.

Chronological Summary

Accession of Chandragupta	...	...	B.C. 325
Invasion of Seleucus	...	...	" 305
Accession of Bindusāra	...	...	" 250
Accession of Aśoka	...	...	" 271

Coronation of Aśoka	...	...	... B.C.	370
Conquest of Kalinga	...	...	...	262
Death of Aśoka	...	...	...	232
Rise of the Śungas	...	...	...	184
Death of Pushyamitra	...	...	...	143
Beginning of the Śātavāhana power			...	100
Rise of the Kānvas	...	...	...	72
End of the Kānvas	...	...	...	27
Gautamīputra Śātakarnī defeated the Śākas	...		A.D.	124
Rudradāman defeats the Śātavāhanas			...	150
End of the Śātavāhanas	...	...	...	225

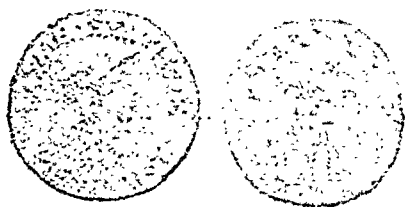
CHAPTER VIII

FOREIGNERS IN INDIA

The Kushana Empire

The Greeks.

About the year B.C. 250 the chiefs of Bactria (modern Balkh in Central Asia) declared themselves independent of the



Indo-Greek coin.

Greek emperors of Syria. They, then, began to turn to India after the death of Asoka. We have already seen that Demetrios invaded India in the reign of Pushyāmītra Śunga. The most

famous king belonging to the house of Demetrios was Menander (Milinda of the Buddhist literature) who advanced far into India about B.C. 110 and established himself at Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab). The Buddhists claim that he became a convert to their creed. He was not merely a conqueror but also a learned philosopher like some of the kings of the later Vedic age. He was hard to beat in discussion and was acknowledged as their superior by various schools of thought. He had plenty of wealth and his army was large and well organised. His justice made him popular and when he died he was greatly honoured by his subjects. The Greeks ruled in the Punjab for some time more after which they gave way to the Śakas and other foreign hordes.

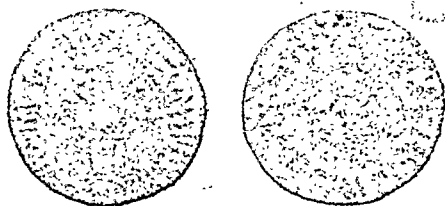
The contact of the Indians with the Greeks influenced Indian culture in some ways. The images of Buddha, found

in the North-West, have some Greek traits in the manner of execution and dress. The coinage of India owed much to the Bactrian Greeks. In astronomy the Indians borrowed many ideas from the west and regarded Greece and Rome to be the home of astronomical knowledge. Several Greek works on astronomy were translated into Sanskrit and the Indian calendar was reformed according to the suggestion of the Greeks. Many Greeks became Hinduised and adopted the Brahmanical or Buddhist faith.

The Greeks of North-West India were ousted by the Śakas or Scythians, a nomad tribe of Central Asia, who occupied the country beyond the

The Sa
and In
Parthia.....

Amu (Oxus) river. In the second century B.C. there was much stir among the Central Asian tribes. The Hunas, whom the Chinese emperors had



Indo-Bactrian coin

tried to suppress, fought hard with another tribe called the Yueh-chi. Being defeated and driven out of the country by the Hunas, the Yueh-chi migrated towards the west and in their march onwards they came in contact with a people called SSe (sai) or Sek by the Chinese. They were the Śakas of the valley of the Syr (Jaxartes).

The Śakas had to flee before the Yueh-chi and ultimately reached the Indus sometime after 127 B.C. They conquered Bactria by overpowering the inhabitants who could offer no resistance. The invaders established an empire in Northern and western India consisting of the Punjab, Sindh, the United Provinces, Rajputana and the northern parts of the Deccan. The first Śaka king was Moga or Maues who ruled over Afghanistan and the Punjab and claimed the allegiance of the satraps of Mathura and Taxila. The southern provinces were

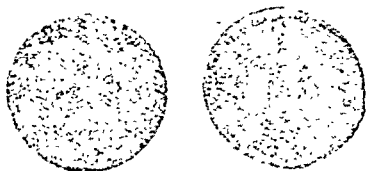
governed by a satrap who was posted at Ujjain in Malwa. Moga's successors AZes I and AZes II were also powerful monarchs. These Śaka kings were overthrown by another horde called the Indo-Parthians because they were connected with the house of Parthia (Persia) and had adopted Persian manners and customs. An important king of the branch was Gondophernes who was a contemporary of Jesus Christ and whose court is said to have been visited by the apostle St. Thomas. The dominions of these Indo-Parthian kings were divided into a number of provinces ruled by satraps, some of whom rose to great fame. They declared their independence and assumed royal titles. The chief Satrapies were those of Taxila, Mathura, Ujjain, Surashtra and the Deccan.

The Śakas and Śātavāhanas struggled long for mastery in Central India, Gujarat and the Deccan. The Śātavāhanas were driven out of Central India and Gujarat by Rudradaman but they continued to exercise sway over the Deccan till the beginning of the third century A.D. Later the empire broke up and several small kingdoms were formed out of the countries included in it.

The
Kushānas.

The Kushānas were a branch of the horde known as the Yueh-chi who had settled down on the northern bank of the Oxus. They were divided into five principalities situated to the north of the Hindukush. The chief of the Kushāna tribe Kujula Kadphises I united the five kingdoms and conquered Afghanistan and some portions of the Punjab after about 25 A.D. His empire extended from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus and included the countries of Bokhara and Afghanistan. His son Wema Kadphises or Kadphises II who succeeded him was as ambitious as his father. He conquered the Punjab and the Gangetic plain extending his sway eastwards as far as Benares. It was probably this king who founded the Śaka era though some scholars are of opinion that it was founded by Kanishka.

About twenty years after the death of Kadphises II Kanishka came to the throne. He is the greatest king of the Kushana dynasty. The probable date of his accession is A.D. 128 though some scholars believe that it is A.D. 78. It may even be later than 128 A.D. Kanishka carved out a big



Gondophernes 20—66 A.D.

empire for himself which extended from the Kabul valley as far as Benares in the east and the Vindhya in the Deccan. He conquered Kashmir and built a town there which is now represented by a village bearing his name. Being an ambitious and warlike prince, he was not satisfied with his Indian conquests. He waged war against the Parthians with success but his more remarkable conquests were in Chinese Turkestan. He conquered Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan which were dependencies of the Chinese empire. He built the town of Purushpur (Peshawar) which guarded the main road from the Afghan hills to the Indian plains. He made it his capital and built there a magnificent Chaitya which was the wonder of all later travellers. Kadphises II had failed to shake off the yoke of China but Kanishka ceased to pay tribute and Yuan Chwang who visited India in the seventh century speaks of a Chinese prince detained as a hostage at his court.

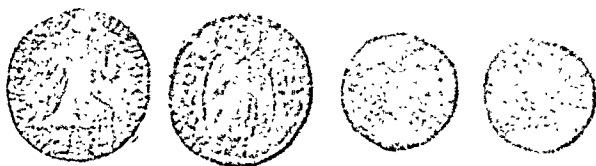
Like Aśoka the Kushāna ruler was also moved to pity at the sight of suffering and misery, caused by his long wars, and he became a Buddhist. His coins reflect the change in his religious ideas. There had been for some time a great conflict of opinion in the Buddhist Church about doctrine. Kanishka summoned a council (fourth) at Kundalavana in Kashmir. About this time two sects arose in the Buddhist Church—the Hīnayāna sect (the Lower Vehicle) which wanted to retain the simple creed of Buddha, and the Mahāyāna (the Greater

Vehicle) which preferred to worship the image of Buddha and preached personal devotion to him. In other words Buddha was a God and not a mere preacher to the Mahāyāna.

The court of Kanishka was adorned by many scholars and poets. Asvaghosha was a great Sanskrit poet and wrote some epics and dramas on the life of Buddha. Charaka, the greatest writer on medical science in ancient India, also lived at Kanishka's court.

The
successors
of
Kanishka.

Kanishka was succeeded by Vāsishka who reigned till 138 A.D. Afghanistan remained a part of the Kushana empire but nothing is known of Central India. He was followed by Huvishka who founded a town in Kashmir which was named after him. The last great Kushana emperor was Vasudeva I, who became a convert to Śaivism. It was during



Kanishka

Western Satrap

his reign that several provinces of the empire became independent and the Western Satraps became very powerful. After Vasudeva's death several kings came to the throne who were powerless to prevent the further disintegration of the empire. The line of Kushāns continued to rule in Kabul valley and the Indian borderland long afterwards.

The
Western
Kshatrapas.

Pulumāvi, the Śātavāhana king, of whom mention has been made before, was deprived of some of his possessions by Chashtana, the founder of the dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas. He enlarged his dominion by conquest, and about 140 A.D. he brought Ujjayini under his sway. His grandson Rudradāman turned out an able and ambitious ruler. The Junagarh inscription gives an account of his conquests and says that the southern part of his

kingdom was wrested from Śātkarṇi, the lord of Dakshināpatha. Rudradāman was a great ruler. He spent a huge sum of money in repairing the dam of the Sudarshana lake, built by Chandragupta Maurya, which had burst owing to a storm in 150 A.D. He was a cultured prince who was well-versed in grammar, politics, music and logic. His manners were perfect. His natural kindness led him to act upon the principle of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) except in times of war. Rudradāman's character shows how quickly foreigners adopted Hindu ways of life and thought.

The glory of his dynasty did not last long but the Śaka kings continued to rule in Central India till they were overthrown by Chandragupta Vikramaditya.

The castes in Northern India remained what they were before. The reaction against the power of the Kshatriyas had not yet come to an end. The Brahmanas were highly respected. They possessed a liberal outlook as is shown by the marriage of Śātvāhana kings who were Brahmanas with Śāka princesses. The Śātvāhanas were followers of orthodox Brahmanism but they were not hostile to Buddhism. Śātkarṇi I and his queen are said to have performed not less than 20 sacrifices, which included some Aśvamedha sacrifices. Most of the Vedic gods were forgotten but Indra was still worshipped. Foreigners were admitted into the fold of Brahmanism. The change of religion did not mean loss of caste. A Brahmana could be a Buddhist without ceasing to be a Brahmana. Men respected each other's faiths. The charity of kings was extended to Brahmanas and Buddhists alike. Buddhism had split up into two schools—the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna—of which mention has been made before. It was flourishing side by side with Brahmanism. The cult of Krishna was making progress in the Deccan and the worship of Śiva, Bhāgavat and Viṣṇu was also common. The Jains had adopted the Buddhist mode of worship. They erected temples

Social
condition
under the
foreigners
and
Śātvāhanas
(27 B.C.—
300 A.D.).

to their Tirthankars and installed images in them. There was so much religious toleration in the country that Buddhism and Jainism left their followers free to perform their domestic rites according to Vedic rules.

In the Deccan, society was divided according to status or position in life. Men of the highest rank were the Mahārathis, Mahābhajas and Mahāsenāpatis. Below them were officers such as the Amātyas, Mahāmātras and others. Among others who had the same social status as the Amātya is mentioned the Śresthi, the head of the board of trade. The scribes, physicians and farmers formed a lower class. The lowest class consisted of carpenters, gardeners, blacksmiths, etc. The middle class was split up into a number of grīhas or homesteads or Kutumbas or Kulas, i.e., families and the head of each was called a Grihapati or Kutumbin.

Economic
condition.

The people seem to have been contented and prosperous. Trade and industries were in a flourishing condition. Arts and crafts were practised by the people at large. The old inscriptions frequently make mention of Śrenīs or craft-guilds which existed in all parts of the country. They managed their affairs. They were not merely trade-guilds but served also as banks where people could deposit their money and received interest from nine to twelve per cent.

India carried on a brisk trade with foreign countries since the earliest times both by land and sea. Even as early as the eighth century B.C. Indian traders sailed to such distant countries as Mesopotamia, Arabia, Phœnicia and Egypt, a fact which shows that the Indian navy was well organised. From a record of the first century A.D. we learn that the chief articles of export were spices, perfumes, medicinal herbs, precious cloth, porcelain, pearls, silk yarn and cloth of various kinds. Ships from western countries came to Barigaza (modern Broach) and ports on the Malabar coast. Rome was a rich market for Indian goods and the Far South was especially

ly enterprising in this respect. The Indian muslin was so fashionable among the ladies of Rome that the historian Pliny regretted the drain of wealth from his country on this account.



Ancient Indian Ship

Art was greatly thriving in this age. Cities were founded and stupas were built and Kanishka built one outside the city of Peshawar in which were deposited the relics of Buddha. Sculpture also made progress and special skill was shown in decorating the gateways of stupas. The most famous schools of sculpture were those of Gāndhāra, Mathura, Sārnāth and Amarāvati. The stone railings at Bharhut in Central India and the bas-reliefs at Amarāvati in the Guntur district exhibit artistic skill of a high order.

The Greek contact with India brought about a change in the style of art. The Gāndhāra school of Art which flourished in North-Western India owed its origin to the Greeks. It was the outcome of the commingling of the two cultures—Indian and Greek—and the application of the ideas of Greek

and about the same time an Indian Brahmana sailed to Funan, married a local princess and acquired possession of the whole country. The kingdom of Cambodia was founded and Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula were also colonized by Indian settlers.

Recent discoveries have shown that Indians settled also in Central Asia, Khotan and Turkestan. Figures of Indian gods and goddesses, coins with Indian legends and documents written in Indian character have been found buried in the desert of Gobi. From all this it appears that Indians had penetrated into such far-off lands as Mesopotamia and Egypt and the influence of Indian culture was established over the countries of Central Asia.

Chronological Summary

Invasion of Menander	...	...	...	B.C. 110
Accession of Kanishka	...	...	...	B.C. 123
End of Vāsishka's reign	...	...	...	A.D. 133
Chashtana's conquest of Ujjayini	...	...	...	A.D. 140
Rudradāman repairs the Sudarshana lake	...	...	...	A.D. 150

CHAPTER IX

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

Chandra-
gupta I.



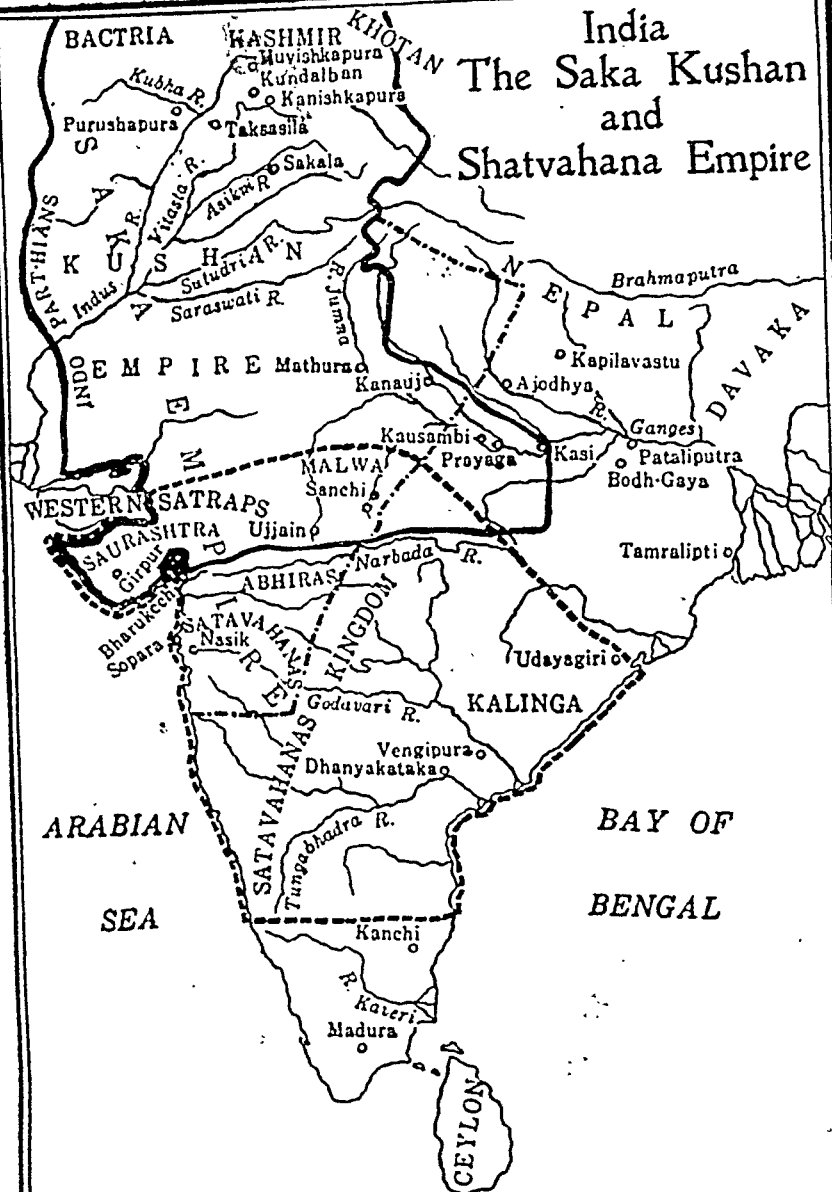
Chandragupta I

The third century A.D. may be called the Dark Age of ancient Indian history. In the beginning of the next century a local chief, Chandragupta by name, became powerful at Pataliputra and founded an era called the Gupta era from the date of his accession (A.D. 319). There had been two kings before him but little is known about them. He took the proud title of Maharajadhiraja and conquered the country as far as Allahabad. He strengthened his position by marriage with a princess of the Lichchhavi clan.

Samudra-
gupta
(335—375
A.D.)

His son and successor Samudragupta, rightly described by some historians as the Indian Napoleon, was a prince and warrior of great qualities. We learn about his conquests from the inscription on Ashoka's Allahabad Pillar, composed by his court poet Harisena. Having subdued all the princes of Northern India as far as the Jumna, he started on his career of conquest (*digvijaya*) in the country south of the Narada. Proceeding from his capital Pataliputra by the sea coast of Orissa, he passed the forest country between Bilaspur and Vizagapatam and conquered its chiefs. He pushed further and carried his victorious arms as far south as the river Krishna. It is said that twelve kings of the Deccan laid down their arms and acknowledged the superiority of Samudragupta. But on his return march he reinstated all the defeated princes on their respective thrones and exacted tributes from them. It seems to be a mistake to suppose that Samudragupta conquered Malabar, Maharashtra and the Western Ghats. The countries of the Deccan mentioned in the Allahabad in-

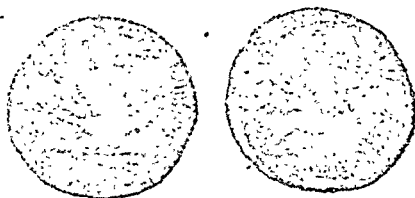
India The Saka Kushan and Shatvahana Empire



scription are all situated on the eastern coast. But there is no doubt that his influence extended even to the Far South. All his neighbouring chiefs as well as the non-monarchical states of the Punjab and Rajputana were subordinate to him.

Having reached his capital Sāmuḍragupta performed the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice to commemorate his victories and to establish his overlordship over his contemporaries. It was on this occasion that he struck a new type of gold coins to be distributed among the Brahmanas.

Samudragupta was an extraordinary monarch. He was a great poet and musician and the learned gave him the title of Kavirāja, the Prince of Poets. He was fond of playing on his lyre and in this picture he is represented on his coins. Himself a lover of learning, he took delight in the company of learned



Gold coins of Samudragupta.

men and held converse with them. Although a brave warrior, he had a gentle and tender heart and was ever ready to extend his support to the poor and the distressed. In religion he was a follower of Brahmanism as is shown by his horse-sacrifice but he was tolerant towards the Buddhists. A good instance of this is to be found in the permission which he granted to the ruler of Ceylon to build a monastery at Buddhagaya for the convenience of his subjects.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta who worthily upheld the traditions of his father.* Like the latter he was a prince of high ambition and courage. He first

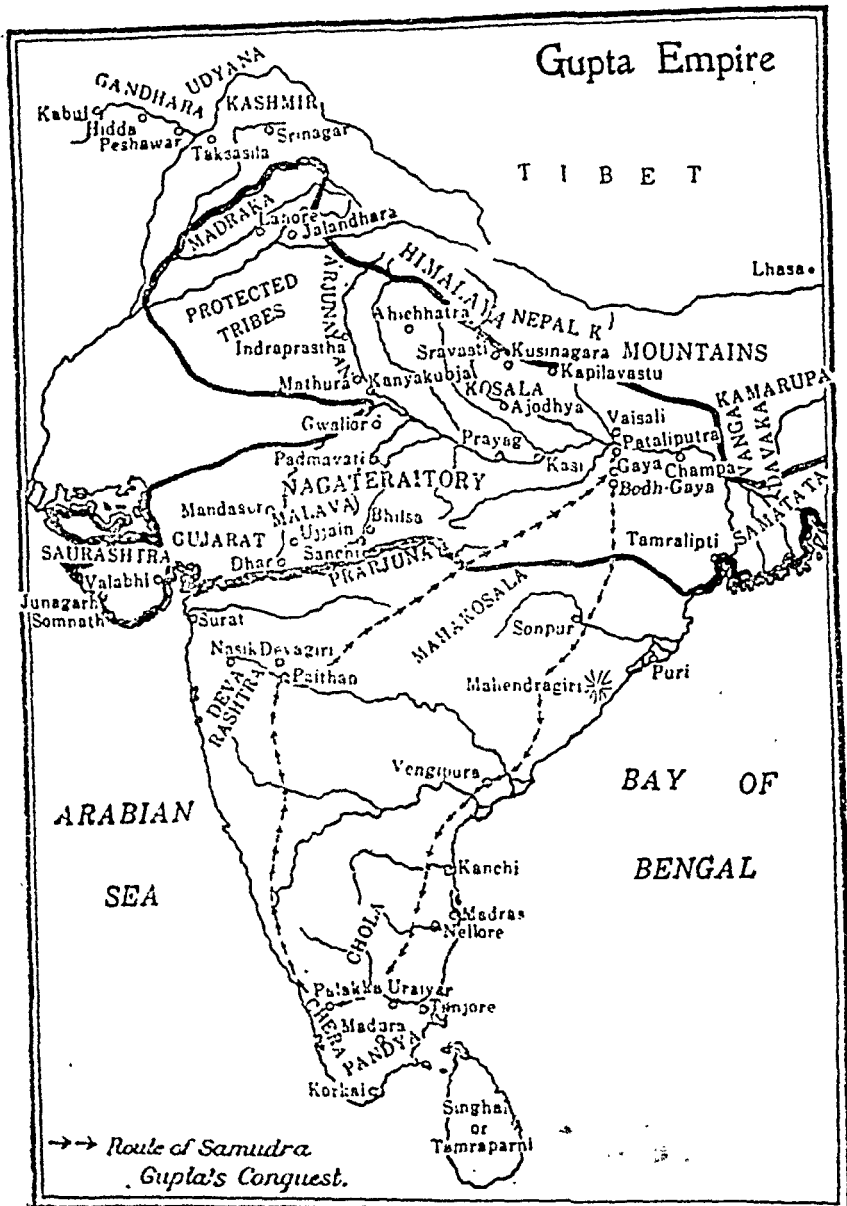
Chandra-
gupta
Vikramā-
ditya
(375—413
A.D.).

* According to some Samudragupta was succeeded by Ramgupta who was killed by Chandragupta Vikramaditya II who usurped the throne

defeated the Śaka king of Mathura and then turned his attention towards the Śatrapas of Western India who had grown very powerful. He conquered the provinces of Malwa, Kathiawar and defeated the last Śaka satrap and annexed his dominions. He also married his daughter to the Vakataka chief of Patal and Maharashtra. The empire now extended to the Arabian Sea and the rich and wealthy province of Surastra (Gujarat) had become a part of it. The port and harbour of Gujarat greatly increased the prosperity of the empire. They facilitated commercial intercourse with the countries of the Western world and made it possible for Indian culture to penetrate into those lands. After his victory over the Śakas, he assumed the title of Vikramāditya (literally the Sun of Valour) which he fully deserved. Many historians have identified Chandragupta Vikramāditya with king Vikramāditya of the Indian legends who is called Śakāri in Sanskrit literature and round whose name fantastic tales of all kinds have clustered through the ages. The identity of this Vikramāditya of Ujjain whose court was adorned by nine gems, including the great dramatist and poet Kālidāsa still remains an insoluble puzzle of Indian history. It is possible that Kālidāsa may have flourished at this time for he is described as a contemporary of Dignaga, a Buddhist logician of the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Like his father, Chandragupta was a patron of art and literature. He was a Vaiṣṇava himself but he respected the worshippers of other creeds and extended his charity to Buddhist monasteries and foundations. That he was a prince of great valour and renown is shown by his titles of Mahārājadhirāja, Vikramāditya. Śrī Vikrama, Sinha Vikrama, Parama Bhattāraka, Parama Bhāgavata, etc. His life was dominated by religious influences. He issued numerous coins of gold, silver and copper from which it may be inferred that his reign was a peaceful and prosperous one.

Gupta Empire



and that industry and commerce were in a flourishing condition.

During the reign of Chandragupta, Fa-Hien, a Chinese Buddhist, came to India to visit the holy places of Buddhism. During his six years' stay (405—411 A.D.) in the country he visited Peshawar, Taxila, Mathura, Kanauj, Kapilvastu and other places. He has left us a valuable account of the life and manners of the people and the condition of government. He found the people happy and very lightly taxed. Criminals were usually fined but in cases of repeated offences the punishment was mutilation. The Chāṇḍalas were looked down upon and had to live outside the towns. No one kept swine and hens and there were no slaughter houses and distilleries. Onions, garlic and wine were not consumed by the people of higher caste. The whole country was full of monasteries or Yihārs raised by the bounty of pious Buddhists, and lands and gardens were attached to them for their maintenance. Every kind of comfort was provided in them and guests were highly honoured.

The pilgrim visited Pataliputra where he was astonished to see the magnificent palace of Aśoka. It was so grand that it seemed to have been built by giants. There was a hospital at the capital where medicine and food were given to the poor and the destitute free of charge. The expenses of the hospital were borne by some of the wealthy and generous residents of the town. (The arrangements were so satisfactory that the well-known historian Dr. Smith doubts whether there was such a well-managed hospital in that age in any part of the world. The people were so rich and prosperous, writes the pilgrim, that they vied with each other in practising benevolence and righteousness. The Vaishyas endowed houses for dispensing charity and medicines.

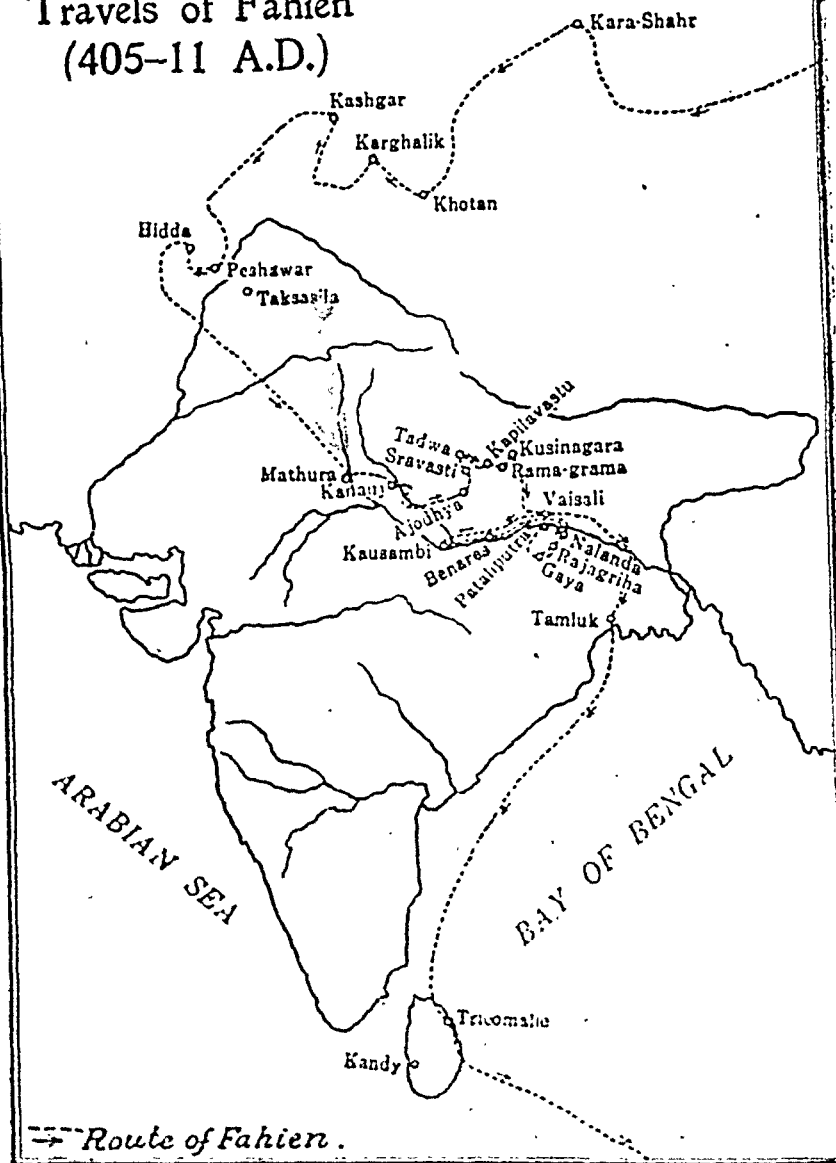
→ The king was loved by his people. His government was mild. He did not interfere in the affairs of his subjects.

There was plenty of wealth in the country and the dearth of articles of food was never felt. The latter were indeed so cheap that transactions could be entered into with caution. The Brahmanas and Buddhists were well educated and took delight in discussion. There was religious toleration. The followers of the various faiths were free to practice their worship. Buddhism was in a state of decline but the process was so slow that it escaped the notice of Fa-tien. On the whole the country was well governed and prosperous and there were no highwaymen or robbers. The pilgrim's time was chiefly occupied with religious studies in India. He left for China by the port of Tāmraparā, the modern Tāmluk in the Midnapur district in Bengal.

Administra-
tion.

The king was the head of the government and he was nominated by his predecessor. He had a council of ministers whose office was often hereditary. There was no clear-cut division between the civil and military functions. The same person could fill both offices. The empire was divided into provinces called *Deśa* or *Bhukti* and these were again subdivided into districts called *Pradeśa* or *Viśaya*. The village was under the *grāmika* who managed its affairs with the advice of the elders. The towns had their own government but the chief officer was appointed by the provincial governor. The provincial governors were generally men of the royal family. Offices in the state were thrown open to men of all creeds. Chandragupta II's general was a Buddhist, while his minister of peace was a Śaiva. The land was carefully surveyed and the assessment was made according to fixed rules. The farmers were required to pay one-sixth of the total produce. The state had other sources of income such as tributes from feudatories, fines, forests, taxes on hides, iron, mines and drugs, etc. The royal family constantly practised benevolence and a separate department of charity was organised. Grants of land were made and state officials were not allowed to

Travels of Fahien (405-11 A.D.)



→ Route of Fahien.

interfered with them. The idea of imperial unity seems to have acquired a strong hold on the people's minds as is shown by the loyalty of the dependent chiefs and the inclusion of certain non-monarchical states in the empire.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta in the latter part of whose reign (413—55 A.D.) the empire began to break up. The Hunas, a horde of cruel barbarians inhabiting the steppes of Central Asia for many centuries, poured into India about the year 450 A.D. and shook the foundations of the Gupta empire. Their advance was temporarily checked by Skandagupta (455—467), the valorous son of Kumāragupta, who fought against them a battle so terrible that the Crown Prince had to pass a night on the bare ground. The whole country rang with the praises of Skandagupta and odes were composed in his honour. Skandagupta's short reign was entirely spent in repelling the Hunas. Their recurring raids implied a heavy drain on the treasury, and like his father he had to issue impure coins of gold. After Skandagupta's death the Hunas, under their leader Toramāna, captured the Punjab, Rajputana and part of Central India in 481 A.D.

Later
Guptas
and the
Break-up of
the Empire

Skandagupta's successors were powerless to check the forces of disorder and the empire began to decline. Buddhagupta who reigned till 495 A.D. was the last great Gupta emperor whose kingdom extended from Bengal to Malwa. But after his death the Hunas under Toramāna and Mihirakula invaded Malwa and deprived the Guptas of that region. Malwa was lost and the empire was greatly reduced in extent. With Bhānugupta's death the greatness and glory of the Guptas vanished for ever though another branch of the dynasty, known as the Later Guptas, continued in Malwa. The Hunish invasions were the principal cause of the decay of the empire.

Economic
condition of
the people.

✱ The Gupta period is one of the golden ages of Indian history. Apart from the extraordinary development of art and literature and revival of Brahmanism there is ample evidence to show that the country was prosperous, and that the people lived in happiness and comfort. Samudragupta and Chandragupta had spent large sums of money in charity and in raising works of public utility. Trade was in a flourishing condition as is shown by the numerous coins of the time. The guilds controlled the industries and crafts. The members of these guilds had to obey their rulers. Every guild had its own seals which were used by Sethis (rich bankers) and merchants in their transactions. During the reign of Skandagupta (about 456 A.D.) a certain Brahmana entrusted to a guild of oil-makers the management of a lamp which he had endowed in a temple of the Sun. The guilds served also the purpose of modern banks. They accepted deposits and paid interest to their clients.

Trade with the Western world had declined owing to the decay of the Roman Empire but communication with the East Indies continued and the port of Tāmralipti was highly prosperous. ✱

The Vikra-
ma Era.

The Vikrama era is generally supposed to have been introduced by a king of Ujjain, named Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Scythians. It dates from 57 B.C. According to another view the era was founded by the Mūlavas, a nomad tribe, whose republican government existed in the Punjab at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great. The era came to be known as the Vikrama era after the sixth century A.D.

The culture
of the Gupta
Age : Art.

Though art and literature were greatly patronised even by the foreign rulers of India, it was under the Gupta that they reached the highest point of perfection. Most of the buildings of the Gupta period have perished but those that exist give us some idea of the art of the time. The temple

of Viṣṇu at Deogarh in the Jhansi district, the brick temple at Bhitārgaon in the Cawnpore district in the United Provinces and the temple of Śiva near Bhumrā in the Nāgod state are fine specimens of Gupta architecture. The cave temples in the Udayagiri hills near Gwalior, one of which bears an inscription of 401 A.D., contain sculptures representing Viṣṇu and Vārāha and the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna in a beautiful form. In the same locality near Pathari is a massive relief representing the birth of

Kṛṣṇa. The images of this period are the finest ever produced in India and can be classed with the best specimens of the world. The museum at Sarnath contains a number of the images of this period. These images show how the artists tried to depict in stone the richness and brilliance of the age in which they lived. The work of a high quality was done in metals like iron and copper and the iron pillar at Delhi is one of the most wonderful monuments of the Gupta period. The coins of the



Sculpture of the Gupta period

Gupta kings, particularly the gold coins of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, are exquisite in their shape and design. The art of painting also reached a high level of development under the Guptas. The frescoes at Ajanta, some of which date from the first century B.C., are the finest examples of painting and their merit is recognised even by foreign critics.

Literature.

in literature also there was a great progress. The works of Kālidāsa, the greatest of Sanskrit poets were in all probability, composed in this age. He is the writer of the *Raghuvamśa*, the *Kumārsambhava*, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśiya* and a lyric, the *Meghadūta*. His drama the *Abhijnān-Sākuntala* is famous all over the world and is still read with great interest. Two poets Harisena and Virasena

adorned the courts of Samudragupta and his successor respectively. There were other dramatists besides Kālidāsa. Śūdraka, the author of the *Mrichchakatika* and Viśakhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākshasa*, belong to this age. The Purānas were finally recast and the epics (the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārat*) were brought to completion in this age. In astronomy Aryabhatta and Varāhamihira wrote their works which greatly improved the knowledge of the subject.

The Gupta emperors were Vaisnavas under whose patronage the influence of Brahmanism revived again as is shown by the horse-sacrifices performed by them. The chief feature of Brahmanism was *Bhakti* (personal devotion to God) and its principal ele-



Iron Pillar (Delhi).

ments were worship of God, sacrifices and the observance of

Varnas (four divisions). The worship of Viṣṇu was common and we read of several temples built in his honour. Although Brahmanism was the dominant religion, the Buddhists and Jainas were not persecuted and temples were freely



Ajanta Painting.

erected for the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha, Sūrya and other gods. There is an inscription of 460 A.D. which mentions the construction of the images of five Jain saints and a pillar by a Brahmana who had a great respect for *gurus* (teachers) and ascetics.

The Hunas.

After the break-up of the Gupta empire Northern India was divided into a number of independent states. The



Ajanta Painting.



Ajanta Painting.

Gupta emperors fought valiantly to check the inroads of Hunas but they were unsuccessful. About the year 510 A Toramāna's son Mihirkula became king of the Hunas.

was a great tyrant. Himself a Śaiva, he persecuted the Buddhists and demolished hundreds of stupas and Vihārs. To oppose his tyranny a powerful king of Central India,



Ajanta Painting



Ajanta Painting.

Yaśōdharman, about whose ancestry nothing is known, organised a league and with the help of Narasiṃha Bālāditya, the ruler of Magadha, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the

Hunas on the Indus and drove Mihirkula to Kashmir (about 530 A.D.).

In his two inscriptions found at Mandasor in Central India he claims that he conquered every part of India and that his empire was bigger than that of the Guptas. According to some scholars he held the title of Vikramāditya, but there is little evidence to support this view. We do not know what became of his empire after his death. Probably as one historian says 'he rose and vanished like a meteor without leaving any trace behind.'

Chronological Summary

Accession of Chandragupta I and the epoch of the				
Gupta era	...	...	...	A.D. 319
Accession of Samudragupta	...	...	...	c. 335
Accession of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya	...	...	...	c. 375
Accession of Kumāragupta	...	...	...	413
Accession of Skandagupta	...	...	...	455
Toramāna's conquest of the Punjab and other				
lands	...	...	...	484
Defeat of the Gupta king by Toramāna	...	...	...	c. 510
Defeat of Mihirkula	...	...	...	about 530

CHAPTER X

NORTHERN INDIA

The Rise of Thaneshwar

We have seen above that Yaśōdharman became supreme in India in the first half of the sixth century A.D. After his death the country was again divided into a number of independent states. The United Provinces and part of Bihar were held by the Maukharis who had a long fight with the later Guptas. The struggle went on with varying fortunes, no dynasty gaining any distinct advantage over the other. Mahāsenā Gupta of the later Gupta dynasty, whose stronghold was possibly in Malwa, left off fighting the Maukharis and began to extend his sway in Bengal and Assam. The Maukharis allied themselves with another power that was coming into prominence. This was the rising house of Thaneshwar, a district in the Eastern Punjab.

The first important king of this dynasty was Prabhākara-
vardhana (about 580 to 605). He defeated the Hunas, and the tribes of Sind, Gujarat and Malwa and thus established a small empire for himself. He allied himself with Mahāsenā Gupta by marrying his sister and further strengthened his position by giving his daughter Rājyaśrī in marriage to Grahavarman Maukhari. He had two sons, Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana. As soon as he died and Rājyavardhana came to the throne (605) a Gupta chief of Malwa killed Grahavarman Maukhari and imprisoned Rājyaśrī. Rājyavardhana successfully avenged the murder of his brother-in-law but he was himself assassinated by Śaśānka, the powerful king of Bengal.

Harshavardhana, the younger brother of Rājyavardhana, came to the throne of Thaneshwar in 606. The first thing which he did was to march towards the Vindhya

Northern
India after
the Guptas

House of
Thaneshwar

Harshavar-
dhana
(606-617
A.D.)

whither Rājyaśrī had escaped from prison. He rescued her from the fire in which she was going to burn herself and brought her back. The ministers of Grahavarman offered him the throne of Kanauj, which had fallen vacant by the death of Grahavarman. Harsha agreed to accept it as the guardian of his sister, and never took the royal title so long as Rājyaśrī was living. After this Harsha took up arms against Śasānka, the king of Bengal, but he did not gain any advantage so long as Śasānka was living. The first six years of his reign were occupied in conquering a large part of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Malwa. He crossed the Vindhyas and fought with Pulakesin II, the powerful Chalukya king of Maharashtra, but was defeated with heavy losses. He made alliance with the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Valabhi (Gujarat). His empire included the United Provinces, Bihar and possibly a portion of the Punjab and Malwa, and was thus smaller in extent than that of the Guptas. Nearly at the end of his reign he waged a war with the king of Ganjam (Madras Presidency), but we do not know the result of this engagement.*

Yuan
Chwang's
account:
Government

Yuan Chwang (also spelt as Hieun Tsang), a Chinese Buddhist of the Mahāyāna school, set foot in India in 630 and travelled all over the country for the next fourteen years. He came by the land-route. Passing through the desert of Gobi and Khotan, he reached Afghanistan and crossing the Khaibar Pass entered the Punjab. He gives many details about the country, the people and the kings. From him we know that Harsha's government was good, though

* There is a difference of opinion about the extent of Harsha's empire. According to some the empire consisted of the Eastern Punjab, almost the whole of the United Provinces, Behar, Bengal and Orissa including the Ganjam region.

the criminals were very severely punished. Treason against the king was punished with imprisonment for life. Offences against social morality such as disloyal and unfilial conduct were punished with mutilation of limbs or deportation. Trial by ordeal was in vogue. The people were not overburdened with taxes. The governors and ministers were given lands instead of salaries. But the military officers were paid in cash. There was no forced labour and taxation was light. The main source of income was the revenue from Crown lands. The state took one-sixth of the produce. Trade also yielded a revenue, and light duties were levied at ferries and barrier stations. The army was very large and consisted of four branches—the elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. The soldiers were highly skilled in the use of arms. But in spite of the large army and the severity of the penal laws insecurity prevailed in the country. The administration was not as strong as in the time of the Guptas; the pilgrim fell into the hands of bandits more than once.

Yuan Chwang says that the people were in most parts of the land honest and upright. The caste-system was fully developed and inter-marriage was forbidden. We have one instance of early marriage in Harsha's sister, who was married at the age of twelve. Perhaps seclusion of women had not yet fully come into vogue, for Rājyaśrī appeared in public assemblies and took part in religious discussions—a fact which shows that education among women was in a fairly advanced condition. The practice of destroying themselves out of love for their dead or dying husbands seems to have prevailed among women of high society. Harsha's mother had burnt herself out of grief for her husband while he was yet alive, and Rājyaśrī was rescued by her brother when she was getting ready to throw herself into the flames.

Social condition.

The food of the people was simple; it consisted of milk, ghee, sugar, cakes and parched gram and mustard. Onions and garlic were little used as in Fa-Hien's time. Meat was not included in the common dietary of the people. The dress was simple though cloth of various kinds was manufactured. Sea voyage was not forbidden and even Brahmanas sailed in ships, and went to foreign countries. It was through them that the Indian culture spread to Java and other lands.

The Brahmanas were noted for their learning and piety. Sanskrit was the language of the cultured people including the Buddhists. Yuan Chwang speaks highly of Indian ascetics who did not care even for kings and on whom praise or blame had no effect. It was through them that enlightenment was spread among the people. ✓

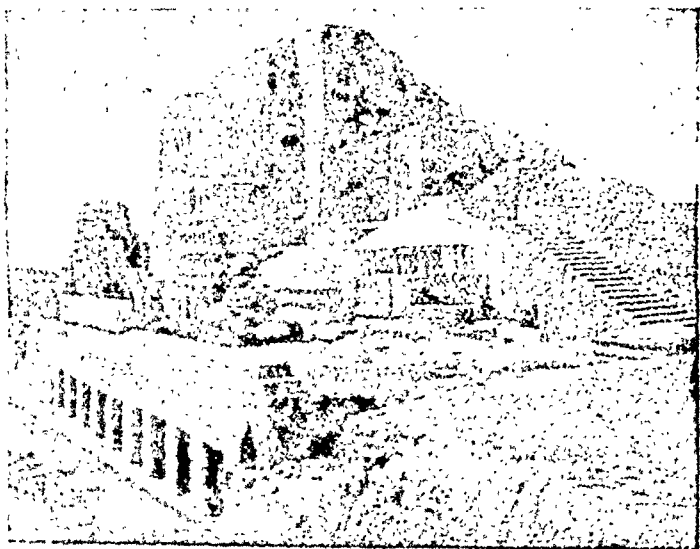
Economic
Condition.

The Chinese pilgrim also tells us something about the economic condition of the people. The cities, famous in the heyday of Buddhism, were in a state of decline, but he was impressed with the beauty of buildings in the towns. The Brahmanas took no part in the industrial life of the town; they confined themselves to spiritual functions. Trade was in the hands of the Vaishyas and the bulk of the people lived by agriculture. Persons following unclean professions had to live outside the city. The standard of living seems to have been high, for Yuan Chwang writes that the poor men's houses were made of brick or board thatched with straw with their walls ornamented with Chunam floor and strewn with flowers of the seasons. There was plenty of gold and silver in the country and Yuan Chwang carried with him many images of Buddha made of the precious metals.

Education
and Bud-
dhism

From Yuan Chwang's account it appears that Buddhism had begun to decline and had come to be divided into many sub-sects. A wonderful creation of Buddhism was the university of Nālandā (near Rajgir in the Patna district)

which was patronised by kings of many generations. It was supported by the revenue of a hundred villages and had 10,000 students. Scholars from countries like China and Mongolia came to study there and were given free board, lodging and tuition. All the renowned scholars of India were teachers in this University. Though it was specially meant for Buddhistic learning all other religions received equal attention. Day and night learned discussions were held and the senior and junior scholars were all engaged in studies, helping each other to attain the highest excellence.



Ruins of the Nalanda University.

Harsha was a worshipper of Śiva and Sūrya, but in later years he inclined more towards Buddhism. Yuan Chwang says that he forbade the slaughter of animals throughout his realm.

Assembly at
Prayag.

In 643 Harsha summoned a huge assembly at Kanauj-
his capital, for discussing religious matters. It was attended
by many kings and learned men, as well as by Yuan Chwang
who had been specially invited by Harsha. Every five years
Harsha used to hold a gathering at Prayag (Allahabad)
which was attended by all classes of men. Here Harsha
used to give away as alms all the money hoarded in five years.
When he had given away everything, his jewels and clothes,
he begged a second-hand garment from his sister and having
put it on paid worship to Buddha. The Brahmanas, beggars
and especially the Buddhists received various gifts from the
king. Harsha's worship was not confined to one particular
creed. Buddha, the Sun and Śiva were worshipped by turns
and every day the image of Buddha was taken out in a
procession.

Yuan
Chwang's
return.

After this Yuan Chwang returned to his native land
Harsha gave him various gifts and an escort to guide him up
to the north-western frontier. Yuan Chwang died in 664
and has always remained famous both for his learning
in the Buddhist lore as well as courage and religious
zeal.

Character of
Harsha.

Himself a scholar, Harsha patronised learned men of
whom the most famous are Bāna, the best prose-writer of
Sanskrit, and the author of the *Kādambarī*, a romance, and
the *Harsha Charita*, a biography of Harsha. Both works
are of the highest merit and are the best of their kind.
Harsha was himself a dramatist and is said to have written
three dramas, the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Priyadarśikā* and the
Nāgānanda. He could write prose and poetry with equal
ease. A treatise on Grammar is also attributed to him. He
was acquainted with the art of painting as is shown
by his picture-writing on a plate. In religious matters he
was a man of liberal views and held in esteem both
Brahmanas and Buddhists.

Harsha's reign presents a noble ideal of Hindu kingship. He was kind and generous towards his subjects, and in their service he forgot even food and sleep. He erected throughout the country charity houses (*puṇyashālās*) where food, drink and medicine were given to the people free of cost. The people lived happily and contentedly, although sometimes there was friction between the Brahmanas and Buddhists.

After a reign of 42 years Harsha died in 647 A.D. and after his death the empire of the house of Thaneshwar also broke into pieces.

Chronological Summary

			A.D.
Rise of the House of Thaneshwar	...	...	580
Birth of Harshavardhana	...	...	4th June. 590
Death of Prabhākaravardhana	...	...	605
Death of Grahavarman; murder of Rājyavardhana	...	...	605
Accession of Harsha and the Harsha era	...	...	606
War with Pulakesin II	...	...	612
Yuan Chwang comes to India	...	...	629
Yuan Chwang meets Harsha	...	...	642
Assemblies at Kanauj and Prayag	...	...	643
Death of Harsha	...	...	647

THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES—THE RAJPUTS

(A.D. 650 to 1200)

India after
Harsha.

As on many other occasions before, India once again became a prey to anarchy after the death of Harsha. The empire of Harsha disappeared from history without leaving a trace behind. Kashmir became powerful under the Kārkota dynasty which was founded by Durlabhavardhana during Harsha's lifetime. Gujarat declared itself independent under the Maitraka kings. Magadha became the stronghold of the later Guptas, and Ādityasena, one of the kings of this dynasty, gained great power and conquered Bengal about 675 A.D. But the power of Magadha was destroyed by Yaśōvarman of Kanauj who was a great conqueror and a patron of poets. Bhavabhūti, the famous author of the Sanskrit drama *Uttara Rama Charita*, lived at his court. Yaśōvarman built up a large empire for himself but he had a formidable rival in Lalitāditya of Kashmir (724—60 A.D.). War broke out between the two and ended in the defeat and death of Yaśōvarman. Political supremacy passed from Kanauj to Kashmir.

Lalitāditya was an ambitious despot. His love of conquest and glory led him to march against Magadha, Bengal and Kanauj. He proceeded to the Deccan also and is said to have conquered Malwa and Gujarat. His vast empire re-called to the people's minds the greatness of the Mauryas and with legitimate pride they celebrated for centuries the victories of their king. Lalitāditya died in 760 A.D. and was followed by a series of weak rulers who were powerless to maintain such a large empire. While Kashmir was in this condition, two new powers were rising in Northern India.

These were the Palas of Bengal and the Gurjara-Pratiharas. At the time when Kanauj was rising into prominence under Yaśōvarman and the Gurjara-Pratiharas were developing their power in Rajputana, the Arabs invaded Sindh and brought a large part of the province under their sway. They were the first Muslims to land on the Indian coast and it is therefore necessary to examine the causes and results of their Indian expedition.

The Muslims were the followers of Muhammad whom they acknowledged as their Prophet. He was born in Arabia in 570 A.D. of a good family which had been reduced to a state of poverty. From an early age Hazrat Muhammad was of a thoughtful turn of mind and took a keen interest in religious questions. It was nearly about the age of forty that being disgusted with the crude religion of the Arabs he became a monotheist, *i.e.*, a believer in one God. He began to preach the new doctrine and believed himself to be a messenger of God. The people of Mecca could not reconcile themselves to this new faith and his words fell on deaf ears. In disgust he left for Medina in 622. There his religious doctrines were listened to with respect and sympathy. This event is known as Hijrat (or dissociation) and the Muslim era called the Hijri begins from this date.* In Medina, Muhammad achieved great success and gradually

The Arab
Invasion of
Sindh.

* The date of the commencement of the Hijri Era is 16th July 622 A.D.

When the Prophet died, he named no successor and a dispute arose about the leadership of his disciples. Abu Bakr, one of the companions of the Prophet, was chosen as his vicar and he was called the Khalifa or Commander of the Faithful. The claims of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, were disregarded, and this fact caused a split among his followers. The supporters of Ali came to be known as the Shi'as. The Khalifa became the recognised head of the Islamic world and his office became highly important.

not only the whole of Medina but many other towns and places one after the other accepted his new faith.

The number of his followers increased and he came to be regarded as a prophet or messenger of God. He lived a strenuous life and died fighting and preaching in 632 A.D. His revelations are recorded in the Quran which is looked upon as the word of God by the Muslims.

After the death of the great Prophet, his followers inspired with zeal, felt eager to spread the new faith. They conquered Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia in a short period of twenty years. The conquest of Persia led them to think of further expansion towards the east, and when they planned an expedition to India in 637 A.D. it was considered dangerous by the Khalifa and was therefore abandoned.

Muhammad
Bin Qasim.

The first serious invasion of the Arabs was led by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 A.D. It was directed against Sindh, ruled at this time by Raja Dāhir who was a Brahmana. The Raja fought against the invaders with great courage but he was defeated and slain. His queen then organised the forces of her husband, and at the head of 15,000 men gave battle to the foreigners. But seeing no chance of success, she and other women of the royal family burnt themselves to death, leaving the country to their enemies. This victory was followed by the conquest of Brahmanabad and Multan and practically the whole of Sindh was occupied by the Arabs.

The government of Muhammad Bin Qasim was not bitter against the Hindus. Religious toleration was granted to them, though they had to pay a poll tax. Of course, those who embraced Islam were exempted from slavery, tribute and the Jeziya. The Brahmanas were treated well and their dignity was maintained. The Hindu temples were suffered to exist and worship was allowed in them. Muhammad's brilliant success was no protection against the

intrigues of his enemies. They poisoned the ears of the Khalifa against him with the result that he was condemned to death. The work of conquest was left unfinished and the stability of the Arab position in Sindh was seriously shaken.

The Arab conquest of Sindh has rightly been described as "an episode in the history of India and Islam, a triumph without results." This is due to various reasons. The troops entrusted to the command of Muhammad Bin Qasim were not sufficient for the task. The province of Sindh was quite barren and unproductive. But the most important cause was that the Rajputs still held important kingdoms in the north and east while the Rāstrakūtas held the Deccan and were ever ready to contest every inch of ground with any invader. So the Arabs found it practically impossible to establish a permanent power under such conditions.

Failure of
the Arabs.

One important effect of the Arab conquest must be noted. The Arabs admired the civilisation and culture of the Hindus and many Arab scholars sat at the feet of Brahmana Pandits to learn something of their ancient wisdom. Sanskrit works on astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, philosophy and other branches of knowledge were translated into Arabic and it must be said to the credit of the Arabs that they did not despise a noble culture because it belonged to the people of a different faith. The Muslims also acquired a knowledge of Indian languages and some of them translated Arabic works into Sanskrit. Hindu physicians went to Baghdad and were put in charge of hospitals. The Arabs learnt the game of chess from the Hindus and the figures from one to nine which Europe afterwards learnt from them. The Khalifas had a liberal outlook in these matters and we are told that one of them was completely cured of a disease from which he was suffering by an Indian physician.

Effects of
the Arab
Conquest.

The Gurjara-Pratiharas were originally a foreign tribe but they were admitted into Indian society after they had

The Pratihara
Empire.

been Hinduised by the Brahmanas. Popularly they are now known as Parihars. Like the Chauhanas (Chahumānas) they also claim to have sprung from the sacrificial fire of Brahmā on the top of the Aravali mountain. Their earliest settlement was probably at Ujjain in Malwa. At the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh (712 A.D.) the Pratiharas had become very powerful. They checked the progress of the Arabs into the heart of the country. In the middle of the eighth century one of their kings Vatsarāja overran the whole of Northern India and conquered the kingdoms of Kanauj and Bengal. The Pratiharas came into conflict with the Rāshtrakūtas and suffered a defeat at the hands of King Dhruva II. Nāga-bhata II, the son of Vatsarāja (815—834 A.D.) defeated Dharmapala, the Pala King of Bengal, and seized Kanauj, still regarded by the people as the Imperial capital. Dharmapala's son Devapala temporarily eclipsed the Pratiharas, but the dynasty soon revived under king Bhoja I (840—890 A.D.), who recovered Kanauj and created an empire extending over the Punjab, Rajputana, Central India, Gujarat and the United Provinces. His son Mahendrapala (890—908) added Bihar to the empire and the Pratihara rule now extended over the whole of Northern India. But Mahipala, the second son of Mahendrapala (910—940), suffered a severe defeat from Indra III, the Rāshtrakūta ruler of the Deccan, who captured Kanauj. From this time the Pratihara power began to decline. Gradually many local dynasties began to spring up, till at last only the district round Kanauj was held by the Pratiharas. Rajyapala (990—1018), a later king of the dynasty, had to own the suzerainty of Mahmud of Ghazni. A little before 1090 the Gahadwars conquered Kanauj and all traces of the Pratiharas were effaced. With them passed away the last great dynasty of the Hindu emperors of Northern India.

It has been said above that when the power of the

Imperial Pratiharas declined, their territories were divided into a number of small principalities. The most important of them were the Chandelas of Jejakabhukti, the Kalachuris of Dahala, the Paramaras of Malwa, the Chalukyas of Gujarat, Chahumanas or Chauhanas of Shākambhari, the Cahadwars of Kanauj, and the Kachchapaghatas of Gwalior. Local Dynasties.

The Chandelas (Chandels) broke away from the Pratihara empire under Yaśōvarman in the first half of the tenth century and established themselves at Jejakabhukti* (Bundelkhand). Yaśōvarman was an able and warlike prince. The decline of the Pratihara empire made it possible for him to extend his small principality by further conquests. He waged wars against a number of kings and captured the Kalanjar mountain which became the chief citadel of Chandela power. The dynasty had its most glorious days under Dhanga (950—90) when the Chandela power extended up to the Jamma. Dhanga joined the league organized to resist Subuktigin, the Muhammadan invader from Ghazni, and built the famous temple at Khajurāho. His son Gānda joined the Shahi king Ānandapāla when the latter proceeded against Mahmud of Ghazni. He attacked and killed Rajyapāla for making an abject surrender to Mahmud but when Mahmud invaded his territories in 1021-22 he himself fled from the field without making even a show of resistance. Another powerful king of this dynasty was Kīrtivarman who restored the fading glory of the dynasty. The last king was Parmardin (Parmāla) (1165—1203) who was defeated by Prithviraja Chahumana in 1192. The Chandelas were ultimately ousted by Qutbuddin Aibek in 1203. But Parmardin's son again recovered his power and drove off the Musalmans. The Chandelas of Jejakabhukti.

* Jejakabhukti is modern Bundelkhand. Dahala is now the country round Jabalpur in the Central Provinces.

The Kach-
chapaghata
of Gwalior.

Gwalior was a part of the Pratihara empire of Kanauj. During the reign of Vijayapāla (960—90 A.D.) it was captured by a Kachchapaghata chief Vajradaman who became the founder of a local dynasty which remained in possession of the fortress until 1128 A.D. The Raja of Gwalior became a vassal of the Chandelas and assisted them in destroying Rājyapāla, the Pratihara emperor of Kanauj.

The Kala-
churis of
Dabala.
(Baghel-
khand.)

The Kalachuris or the Chedis had their kingdom to the south of the Chandelas and their capital at Tripuri (near



Gwalior Fort

Jubbulpore). Their most powerful king was Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (1010—40) who vastly extended his possessions. The next king Karṇa (1040—70) was defeated by Kīrtivarman Chandela. He built a temple of Śiva at Benares and founded a new capital near Tripuri called Karṇāvātī. After his death the Chedis lost their power. The last Chedi king Vijayasimha was defeated and killed by the Yadava ruler of Devagiri in 1196.

The Para-
maras of
Malwa.

The Paramaras of Malwa were, like the Chandelas, subordinate to the Pratihara empire. The founder of the dynasty was Upendra or Krishna Rāja. The first to declare his independence was Vākapatirāja II who constantly waged wars against the Chalukya kings of Gujarat. His successor Bhoja I (1018—60 A.D.) was the most celebrated ruler of the dynasty. He is still famous in Indian tradition as a great

patron of literature, astronomy, etc. He was the inventor of new styles in poetry, drama and art. He caused works on poetry, rhetoric and astronomy to be inscribed on slabs of stone and placed in his college at Dhārā. When the Muhammadans conquered Malwa, they turned it into a mosque where these slabs are still to be seen. Bhoja was drawn into a conflict with his neighbours of Gujarat and Chedi who defeated and killed him in a battle. Bhoja's successors carried on war with their enemies with varying success for years. The last Paramara ruler of Malwa, Bhoja II, was defeated by Alauddin Khilji and Malwa became a part of the Delhi empire.

Like the Chandelas and Paramaras the Solankis were also the feudatories of the Pratihara emperors. Mūlarāj I was the founder of this dynasty. He established an independent kingdom for himself towards the middle of the tenth century and made Anhilwada his capital. Another important king of the dynasty was Bhīma I in whose time Gujarat was invaded by Mahmud of Ghazni. The most remarkable ruler of the dynasty was Kumārāpāla (1113—74) who greatly enlarged his territories by conquest. He was a great admirer of the Jain scholar Hemachandra Sūri and it was under his influence that he adopted many of the ordinances of the Jain faith, though he did not actually embrace Jainism. He was a great patron of learning and several famous scholars lived at his court. After Kumārāpāla's death the power of the Solankis declined and the last ruler Karnaḍadeva II (Rai Karna Bachela of Muslim historians) was conquered by Alauddin Khilji's generals, and Gujarat became a part of the empire of Delhi.

The Gahadavalas (Gahadwars) of Kanauj came into power after the total disappearance of the Pratiharas. This was towards the close of the eleventh century. Their most important king was Govindachandra (1114—51) who became master of the western part of Bihar and fought with the

The Chalukyas or Solankis of Gujarat.

The Gahadavalas of Kanauj

Muhammadan invaders. His grandson was Jayachandra (1170—94) who had to fight the Chahamanas under Prithviraja. He was a powerful king who extended his kingdom as far as Benares. There was a bitter feud between Jayachandra and Prithviraja Chauhana of Delhi. When Muhammad of Ghor attacked the latter, Jayachandra stood aloof and gave no help. Prithviraja was defeated in the battle of Tarain (1192) and the Hindu empire of Delhi ceased to exist. A year later Muhammad came down upon Kanauj and overpowered Jayachandra who after a gallant resistance was slain in the battle of Chandwār. The son of the Gahadavala chief was raised to the throne but the kingdom was greatly reduced in extent.

The Tomaras and Chahamanas.

The Tomaras ruled over the country of Hariyānaka (modern Haryana now comprised in the Delhi and Gurgaon districts). They were also feudatories of the Pratiharas. Their kingdom was conquered by the Chahamana chief Vigraharāja IV or Bīsaladeva who ruled at Shākambhari (Sambhar). He captured Delhi in 1164 A.D. He was a poet and warrior and is said to be the author of the famous drama *Harakelinātaka*. His successor Prithviraja III, famous alike in legend and history, rose to a position of great eminence in Northern India in the twelfth century. He was attacked by Muhammad of Ghor and was defeated. Delhi and Ajmer fell into the hands of the Muslims and the Chahamanas removed their capital to Ranthambhor in Rajputāna, where they resisted for many years the incoming tide of Muslim conquest. With the fall of the Chahamana kingdom, it became easy for the Musalmans to advance towards the east.

Origin of the Rajputs.

The word Rajput is a popular form of the Sanskrit word Rājaputra which was used in ancient times to designate the scions of royal families. It is found in old epics and inscriptions. When the Muslims came to this country, they began to employ the word Rajput for the members of the Kshatriya royal families. The claim of the Rajputs is that

they are descended from the Kshatriyas of Vedic times. They trace their origin to the Sun and the Moon and the most famous clans claim to have sprung from Vashishtha's fount of sacrificial fire at Mount Abu. This view does not find favour with European scholars and some Indian scholars. They are of opinion that the Rajputs are descended from the foreign invaders of India such as the Hunas and Scythians who accepted the Hindu religion and with the help of the Brahmanas got a place in the Indian society as Hindus. When they came to possess royal power, the Brahmanas, in order to exalt them, provided them with genealogies and thus they were promoted to the caste of Kshatriyas. But many Indian scholars dissent from this view and hold that the Rajputs are descended from the ancient Kshatriyas, though, in course of time, they have become a mixed caste like the other castes in India.

The Rajputs were destined to play a great part in Indian history. They carried on the traditions of Hindu government and conserved Hindu culture by their generous patronage. They tried to stem the tide of foreign conquest but without success, because their methods of warfare were out of date and their organisation utterly hopeless. They were a chivalrous and gallant people who followed a high code of honour both in war and in peace. Treachery,



The Rajput Character.

A Rajput warrior.

false-hood, low cunning and deceit were foreign to Rajput nature and sometimes the greatest disasters were the result of their straightforward and honourable conduct. They were capable of treating their foes with generosity even in times of war and never laid their hands upon women and children. The Rajput society held women in great respect. They were not less brave than men. It was they who vindicated the honour of India's womanhood in the most trying times. They never thought of themselves but of the honour of the family or the clan to which they belonged. This gave rise to the fearful rite of Jauhar* which was practised by them when they saw that there was no chance of escape.

The faults of the Rajputs like their virtues are well known. They loved war too much and in the pursuit of military glory forgot everything else. Jealousy, disunion, lack of co-operation and the clan mentality proved fatal to them. They neglected the administration and devised no far-reaching measures to consolidate their power. The habit of drugging themselves with opium produced its effect on a class of professed warriors who almost inevitably became the sole defenders of India's independence.

The Palas
of Bengal.

During the anarchy that prevailed in Bengal in the 9th century A.D. the people elected one Gopala as their king. He was succeeded by his son Dharamapāla who defeated Indrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj, and placed on the throne Chakrāyudha, who was subservient to the conqueror. Indrāyudha appealed to Nāgabhatta II, the Gurjara-Pratihara king of Marwar, for help. The latter organised a league of all the Gurjara chiefs of Rajputana and the Punjab and defeated

* When the Rajputs saw it was hopeless to fight against the enemy, they gathered together their women and committed them to the flames to save them from dishonour. Having done this, they fell upon the enemy with swords in their hands and died fighting like brave men. This was called the rite of 'Jauhar.'

Dharamapala and his vassal Chakrāyudha of Kanauj and drove them out from Northern India. With the help of the Rashtrakuta king of the Deccan, Govind III, Dharamapala again recovered his throne and became a powerful ruler in Northern India. Devapala, his son and successor, was a

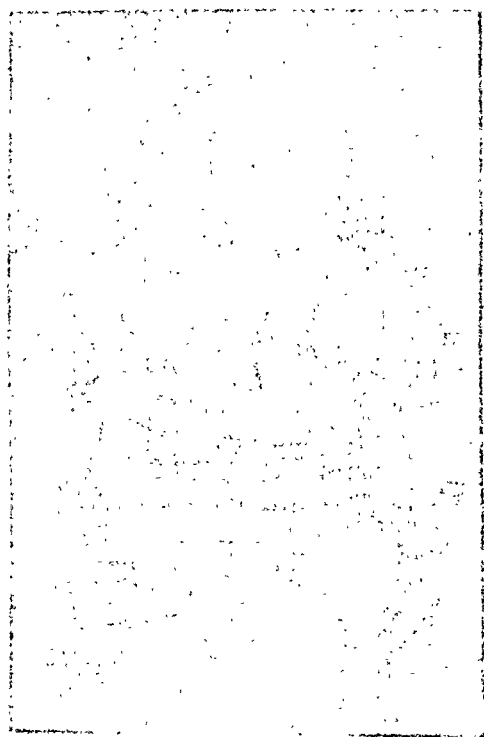


Illustration found at Nalanda (Pala Period).

patron of art and literature. He rebuilt the temple of Nalanda and installed some beautiful images in it. The Palas could not resist the attacks of Bhola I (Pratihara) who defeated the Royal army and took possession of Kanauj.

The fortunes of the family were retrieved by Mahipala I who is said to have successfully repulsed an attack of Rajendra Chola I and extended his kingdom as far as Benares. His successors were unable to withstand their foes and at last they were driven out of Gaur by Vijayasena who established an independent kingdom for himself. The Pala rulers henceforward sank to the position of petty chiefs in Bihar.

The Palas were a powerful people. They organised a large empire and saved Bengal from the fury of foreign invaders. The monasteries of Uddanapur (Bihar) and Vikramasīlā were built during their reigns and some of the greatest authors wrote their works under their patronage. Though the Pala kings were Buddhists, they granted toleration to other sects and employed orthodox Brahmanas as their ministers.

The Senas.

Vijayasena who destroyed the Pala empire was the founder of the Sena dynasty. The Senas had come from the south in search of employment. Vijayasena's son and successor Ballālasena reigned only for a short time but he is known as the author of Kulinism which implies distinctions among the various castes of Bengal. The Sena kings were Hindus and it was under them that after 400 years Brahmanism again regained its influence in Bengal. Ballālasena was succeeded on the throne by his son Lakshmanasena in 1119. By the valour of his arms he greatly enhanced the prestige of his family. He defeated the kings of Magadha and Kanauj and tried to extend the frontiers of his kingdom. Like the Palas, he patronised art and literature. Poets like Jayadeva, the author of the *Gita Govinda*, and Dhoyi lived at his court and enjoyed his bounty. Towards the close of the twelfth century the Muhammadans invaded Bengal and the Sena kings found it impossible to offer resistance. They lost their former glory but continued to rule in Eastern Bengal down to the thirteenth century.

Chronological Summary.

	A.D.
Birth of Muhammad	570
Flight to Medina	622
Death of the Prophet	632
Ashtyasena's conquest of Bengal	675
The Arab Invasion of Sindh	712
Death of Lanitiditya	760
Death of Bhoja I	1060
Bhalsdeva's conquest of Delhi	1069
Defeat of Paramjita by Prithviraja	1182
Second Battle of Tarnan	1193

CHAPTER XII

THE DECCAN AND THE FAR SOUTH

(A.D. 600 to 1200)

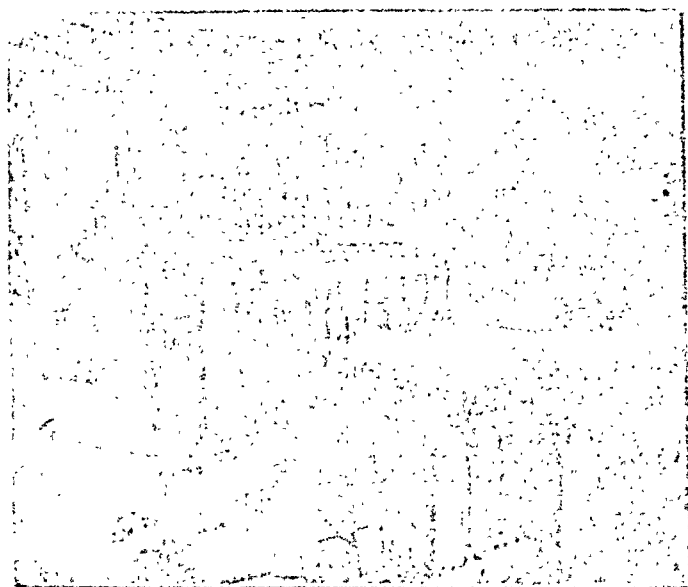
The Chalukyas of Vātāpi.

After the Śātavāhanas passed away about A.D. 200, the Central Deccan passed into the hands of the Abhiras and other tribes. About A.D. 350 the Vākatakas became powerful in that region. One of them, Rudrasena, married the daughter of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. The dynasty continued till A.D. 550 when it was overthrown by the Chalukyas under Pulakesin I, who established himself at Vātāpi (modern Bādami) in the Bijapur district. His successors extended the empire over the whole of the Bombay Presidency and a good portion of Hyderabad. The most powerful king was Pulakesin II (608—642), who conquered Gujarat and even the Telugu districts of Madras. As we have seen before, he repelled the forces of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and acquired great fame by his valorous deeds. But in 642 he was defeated and slain by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. The successors of Pulakesin took ample revenge upon the Pallavas and greatly increased their power. The last king of the dynasty was Kirtivarman (746—853) who was defeated by Dantidurga of the Rāshtrakuta dynasty.

The Rāshtrakutas of Mayakheta.

The Rāshtrakutas rose into prominence under Dantidurga (753—60), the conqueror of the Chalukyas, and had their temple at Ellora, a rock-cut temple of huge dimensions. His uncle Krishna I (760—775) built the famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora which was dedicated to Śiva. Dhruva (780—793) turned to the north and defeated the Pratihara kings of Bhīmal. A later king Krishna III (940—965) killed the Chola king

Rājāditya in 919. He was succeeded by his younger brother who was followed by a number of weak rulers. Another king Kakka II (972-73) was defeated by Taila, who became the founder of the second Chalukya dynasty at Kalyani in Hyderabad. After Kakka a son of Krishna III succeeded to the throne and ruled till 982 A.D. He was the last king of the Rāshtrakuta dynasty and after his death the supremacy of the Deccan passed into the hands of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.



Kailasa Temple (Ellora)

Taila, the founder of the dynasty, was succeeded by his son who was defeated by the Chola king Rājarāja. This disgrace was wiped out by Vikarmāditya VI (1076—1126) who defeated the Cholas and founded a new era. He was a patron of learning and his court was adorned by the poet Bābhaga and the famous jurist Vijñāneśvara. After his death

The Western Chalukyas.

the dynasty declined and three powers arose on its ruins—the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Kākatiyas of Warangal.

The Lingāyat sect.

In the reign of Bijjala (1156—67) of the second Chalukya dynasty there arose a new religious sect known as the Lingāyats, headed by Bāsava. The Lingāyats, who still exist in large numbers in the Deccan, believe in the worship of Śiva, personal devotion (*Bhakti*) and ultimate unity with the Deity. Originally they denounced the caste-system, the performance of *Śrāddha* and other rites of a like nature. But the modern Lingāyats have again taken to these Brahmanical customs.

The Yadavas of Devagiri.

Of the Yadavas of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad in Hyderabad) the most notable king was Singhana (1210—47) whose empire extended from the Vindhya to the Krishna. His grandson Ramachandra was defeated by Alauddin Khilji in 1294 and reduced to vassalage. He was defeated again by Malik Kafur and compelled to pay tribute. After Ramachandra's death in 1310 his son Śankaradeva came to the throne. He refused to pay tribute whereupon Kafur marched against him and conquered Devagiri. The next king Harapaladeva, brother-in-law of Śankara, was defeated and flayed alive by Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah in 1318 A.D.

The Kākatiyas of Warangal.

The Kākatiyas were also like the Yadavas of Devagiri originally feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. They ruled over Telingana which included the eastern portion of the Nizam's dominions. Towards the close of the twelfth century Ganapati became the ruler of the Kākatiyas and his reign lasted for as many as 62 years. He waged war against the neighbouring powers and obtained victory over them. He died without a male heir and the kingdom passed to his daughter Rudramā who governed it well for 30 years. Early in the fourteenth century when the empire of Delhi expanded southwards the Kākatiyas had to bear the brunt

of Muslim attacks. Their king Pratap Rudradeva I was defeated and compelled to pay tribute by Malik Kafur in 1310.

The local dynasty of the Hoysalas ruled in Mysore with their capital at Dwarasamudra (modern Halebid). An important king, Bittiga (1110—10), fell under the influence of Ramanuja and became a convert to *Vaiṣṇavism*. The last great ruler of the dynasty was Vir Ballāla III (1291—1342) who waged a life-long war against his neighbours, both Hindu and Muslim. In 1310 he was also defeated by Malik Kafur and compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan of Delhi.

The
Hoysalas
of Dwarasamudra.

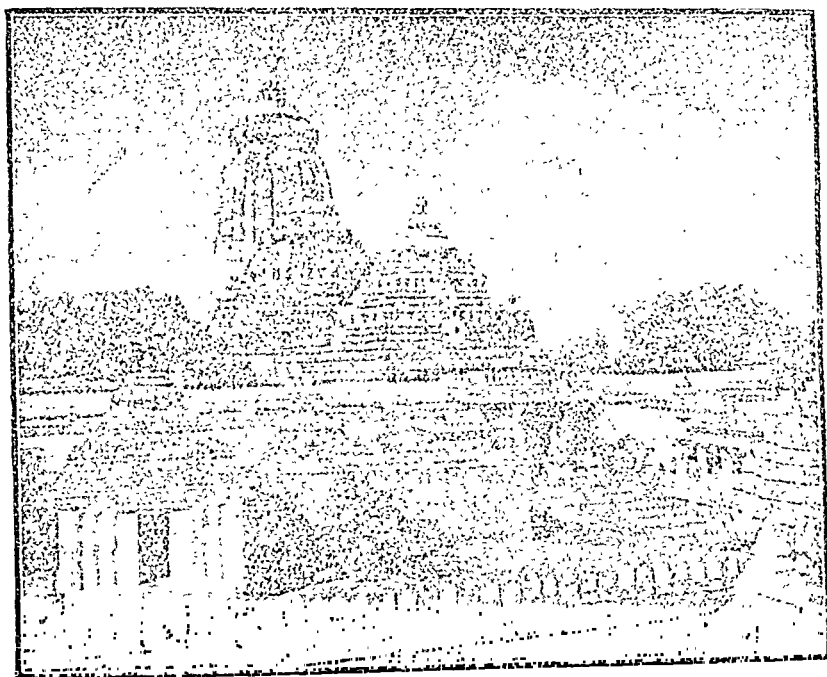
The Eastern Gangas rose to power in the Kalinga country in the beginning of the eleventh century. Their king was Ananta Varman Chodaganga who came to the throne in 1076 A.D. He firmly established himself at Kalinganagaram (in the Ganjam district) and had an empire extending from the Ganges to the Godavari. He conquered Orissa and permanently annexed it to his dominions. He was of a pious disposition and built the famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri. He died in 1147 and therefore ruled longer than any known Indian monarch. The dynasty continued for more than two hundred years, and the last inscription we have of a king of this dynasty is dated 1324 A.D. It cannot be said with certainty how this dynasty fell but it appears that it was supplanted by another in the days of the Bahmani kings.

The Eastern
Gangas.

The Pallava kingdom was established about the year A.D. 300 at Kanchi (Conjeveram) but it attained considerable importance in the last quarter of the sixth century under Simhavishnu. The next king Mahendravarman (600—25) was defeated by Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king. But the next king Narasimhavarman (625—45) inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chalukyas in 642 and held the

The Pallava
king.

Chalukya capital for thirteen years. The Pallavas were drawn into hostility not only with the Chalukyas but also with the Western Gangas of Mysore and the Pandyas who were steadily advancing towards the north. Towards the close of the ninth century the Pandyas and the Cholas formed



Jagannath Temple.

an alliance and defeated the Pallavas. The ambition of the latter to establish their ascendancy in the South came to an end.

The Cholas were a very ancient people of India, famous even in the time of Asoka. Their political importance began at the end of the ninth century when Āditya annexed

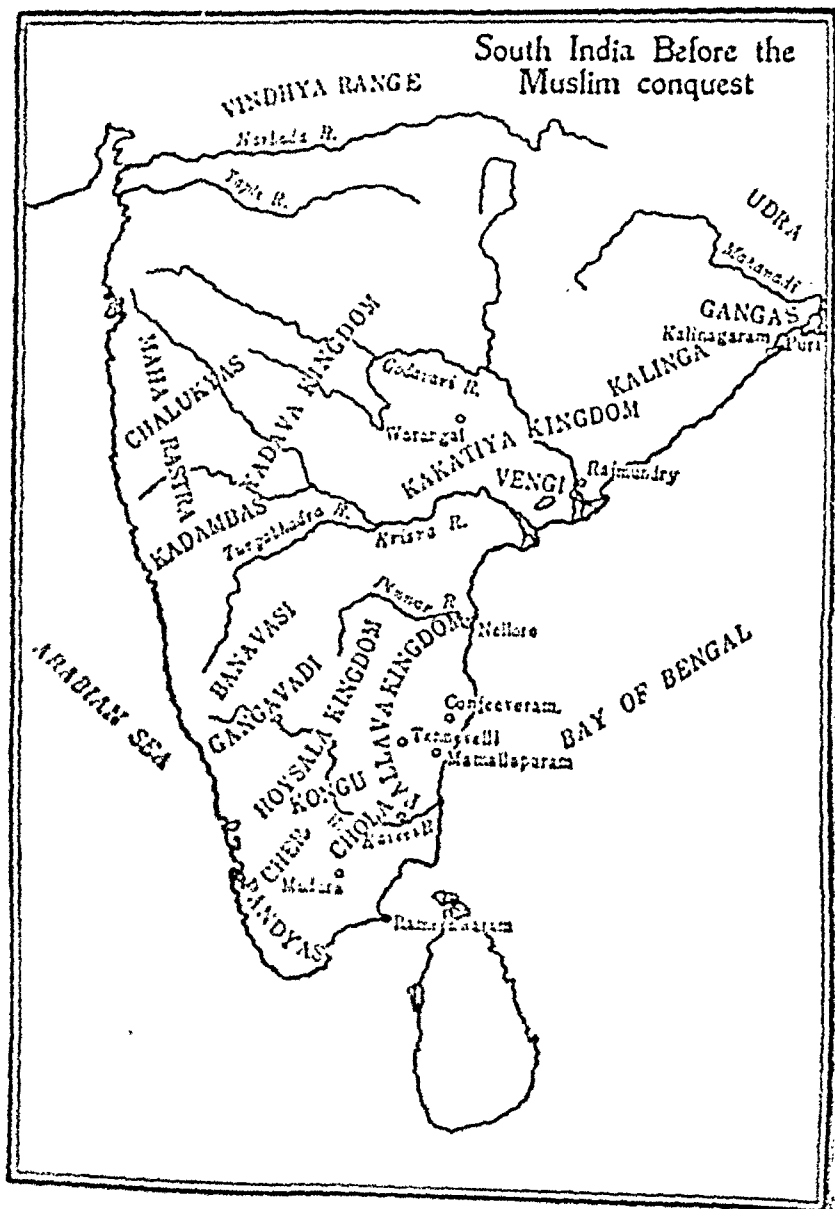
The Pandyas.

One of the important kingdoms of the Far South was that of the Pandyas. It comprised the territory now included in the Madura and Tinnevely districts and some portion of the Travancore state. In the first and second centuries A.D. the Pandyas had relations with the Roman Empire. Yuan Chwang writes that the people of Madura carried on a busy trade in pearls. In the tenth century Rājarāja Chola overpowered the Pandyas and compelled them to acknowledge his suzerainty. For two hundred years the Pandyas remained feudatory to the Cholas but in the thirteenth century they recovered their power under Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (1251—70). He was a powerful prince who ruled over the whole of the Eastern Coast from Nellore to Cape Comorin. The flourishing ports in the Pandya country were a great factor in the prosperity of the people. Foreign merchants from China and the Western countries came there for trade. The Arabs had their settlements in the country and carried on a busy trade in horses. Towards the close of the thirteenth century a dispute between two brothers for succession to the throne led to the invasion of Malik Kafur in 1310.

The Cheras

The Chera kingdom is mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka. It was called Keralaputra in those days. We have not got sufficient material to enable us to construct a connected history of the Chera dynasty. But we learn from the inscriptions that the Cheras like the Pandyas carried on a busy trade with foreign countries. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Cheras were very powerful. Their king Ravivarman took a prominent part in organising a league against Malik Kafur who invaded the Deccan in 1310 and deprived the Hindu kingdoms of their independence and treasure.

South India Before the Muslim conquest



CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN CIVILISATION

(600 A.D.—1200 A.D.)

Jainism and Buddhism had protested against the division of society into the four *varṇas* (*castes*) but they did not succeed in destroying it. Yuan Chwang speaks of the four *varṇas*. The Brahmanas were the most respected and learned of all the castes. They were generally appointed ministers and even acted as commanders of armies. Even the Arab travellers who came to India speak of their learning in religion and philosophy. The Brahmanas were sometimes known by their *gotras* and sometimes by their place of residence. After the twelfth century they were divided into two main branches, the five Gaudas and five Dravids, on the basis of food and custom. Many other sub-sections appeared afterwards both in the North and South. The Kshatriyas occupied a high place in the social system. Some of them like Raja Bhoja of Dhara and Vīrabharaja IV of Shakambhari were scholars as well as warriors. Yuan Chwang writes that in his day the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas were free from exile and lived pure and frugal lives. Originally the Kshatriyas were not divided into sub-sections. In the time of the Mahābhārata they belonged to the Lunar and Solar races. But later there arose many divisions among them of which mention has been made before. The Vaiśhyas and Śūdras were similarly sub-divided. As Jainism and Buddhism did not favour agriculture, most of the Vaiśhyas

Social Divisions.

left it and took to trade and the service of the state. Below the Śūdras were the untouchables who were outside the pale of the four *varṇas*.

Position of
Women.

Society was divided into four classes but these were not exclusive. Intermarriage was not altogether forbidden. But it appears in later times that castes became exclusive and customs like child-marriage and *Sati* became common among the Hindus.

The women enjoyed a position of honour in society. They cultivated arts and sciences and entered into discussion with scholars and religious leaders. The great Śāṅkara was defeated in argument by a Brahman lady. Music and dancing were practised and the daughters of kings and warriors took lessons in horsemanship and sword-fencing. The *Pardah* system did not exist. The Rājput princesses were allowed to choose their husbands and the practice of *Swayamvara* seems to have existed till the twelfth century, the last being that of the daughter of Jayachandra of Kanauj.

Religion :
Decline of
Buddhism.

The first event that deserves notice in the post-Gupta period is the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth. The Pālas of Bengal were the last kings of India to patronise Buddhism. Under the Senas, the successors of the Pālas, Buddhism found no support and began to disappear rapidly. The final stroke was delivered by the Muslim invaders who drove away all the Buddhists from Bihar.

Though the final destruction came in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Buddhism had been declining from the previous centuries. The chief causes of decline were the loss of royal support, the quarrels among the monks and the foreign invasions. Besides these there was a lack of piety in the Buddhist Church. The monks led corrupt lives in monasteries. A new revival of Brahmanism took place under

collector), the *talwathkara* (the village accountant) and others. Speaking of later times Colonel Todd makes mention of Panchayats in Rajput states. In each town, officers of justice elected by their fellow-citizens met and heard complaints. The Panchayats consisted of respectable persons and the Patel and Patwari were its members. In the Crown lands were established the *chabootaras* or platforms of justice outside the villages on which the members of the Panchayat sat to administer justice.

The land was measured and properly assessed. The state took one-sixth of the produce from the cultivators. In every village pasture-land was set apart for grazing cattle. Tanks and canals were constructed to provide facilities of irrigation.

As the wars were frequent, the Rajput chiefs had to keep well-trained armies which were swelled in times of need by the levies of their vassals or nobles. The royal army had four arms—elephants, chariots, horses and infantry. Much reliance was placed upon elephants who often became a source of trouble rather than help. The king was the leader of his host and much depended upon his gallantry and presence of mind. His death or flight from the field of battle caused panic and led to confusion.

The king was the chief judge of the realm. Below him were his officers who decided cases. The law was largely based upon custom as embodied in the law-books. The princes also sometimes issued regulations which were committed to writing. These regulations related to commerce, agriculture, monopolies, taxes, the prohibition of labour on sacred days, the transit duties and the privileges of guilds and merchants. The penal law was severe and continued to be so till the end of the twelfth century. All men were not equal before the law. The Brahmanas and Kshatriyas were not punished with capital sentence for

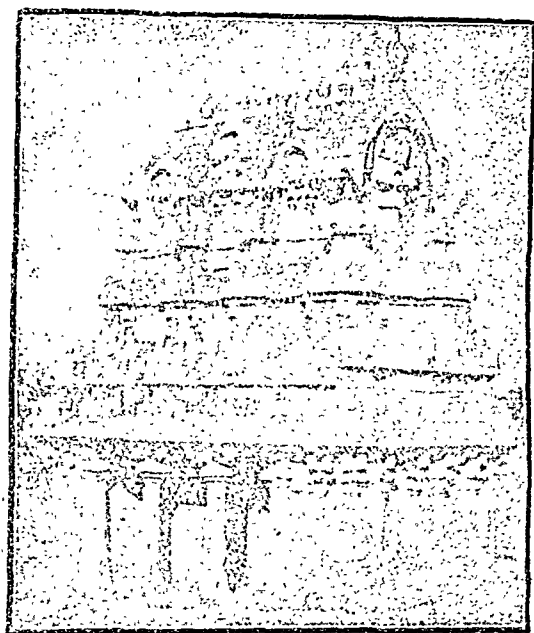
The art of teaching worldly wisdom through stories and fables was practised by certain writers. One of the most interesting works is the *Panchatantra* which contains lessons on morality and practical wisdom, particularly useful for young men. The *Hitopadeśa* which was composed between 1000—1300 A.D. is based upon the *Panchatantra* which was probably composed in the Gupta period. Another notable work is the *Kathāsaritasāgara* of Somadeva, a Kashmiri poet, who lived in the eleventh century.



Khajuraho Temple—Bundelkhand

History was also written and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* (12th century A.D.) gives an account of the kings of Kashmir. Several biographies were composed of which the most famous are Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkacharita* (the life of Vikramāditya of the Chalukya dynasty), Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha* and

The Jainas produced a great literature. Haribhadra who flourished in the ninth century is said to have composed many works. The life-sketches of Tirthankaras, sages and monks were written to teach morality to the people. The most famous Jaina scholar was Hemachandra who lived at the court of Kumārapāla, the Solanki king of Gujarat.



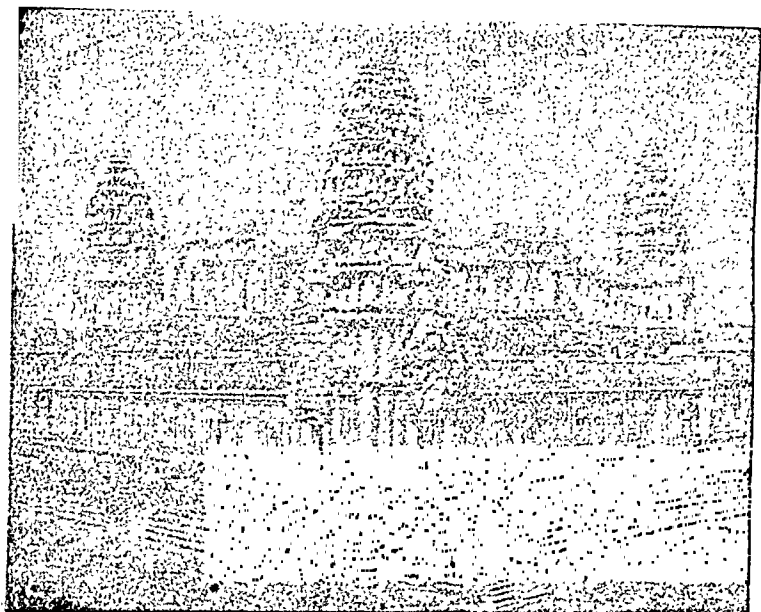
Ganesh-Rath—Mahamallapuram.

The Indian literature of this period has a wide range and variety. It deals with many subjects and touches on every aspect of life. The genius of the ancient Hindus soared to the highest pitch and their achievements in the field of knowledge will always be among the priceless treasures of man.

The chief architectural monuments of the period are the temples on which the Rajputs spent huge amounts of wealth.

khand, the Jaina temple at Mount Abu. The temple at Abu is exquisitely carved and shows a great skill in sculpture.

The temples built in the Dravidian style are the Rathas of Mahamallapuram (35 miles south of Madras) or seven Pagodas cut out of a rock in the seventh century A.D., the Pallava temples of Kanchi, the Kailāsa temple at Ellora, cut out of a huge rock (eighth century A.D.) and the temple at Tanjore built by Rājarāja Chola about 1000 A.D.



Angkorvat Temple—Cambodia.

The Chalukyas built several temples. The temple built at Belur by the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana in the twelfth century is a fair type but the temple at Halebid, the ancient Dwarasamudra, is the finest example of the Chalukyan architecture. It was begun in 1200 A.D. and was never completed but even in its unfinished condition it is the best of temples.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GHAZNAVIDES AND INDIAN INVASIONS

The Turks
established
at Ghazni.

The Arab attempt in Sindh proved a failure. The expansion of Islamic sway was checked for the time. It was resumed again in the tenth century by the Turks who poured into India in large numbers. The power of the Khalifa had become very weak by this time and many independent dynasties had come into existence. One of these dynasties was that of the Samānids which ruled over parts of modern Persia, Central Asia and the greater part of modern Afghanistan. But the power of the Samānids declined as quickly as it had risen. The Turkish slaves to whom they had entrusted their affairs became too powerful to be controlled and one of them Alaptgin seized Ghazni in 933 A.D. and acted as an independent ruler. On his death in 963 A.D. he was succeeded by his son who turned out a weak king and the crown passed into the hands of his father's slaves. Of these Subuktigin who came to the throne of Ghazni in 977 A.D. was a man of ambition and courage. He tried to extend the boundaries of his small kingdom, and a year or two after his accession turned towards India.

Subuktigin has been described by Muslim historians as a champion of the faith who marched into India to spread Islam and punish the idolaters. But this view is far from correct. Subuktigin was anxious to extend his little kingdom and this brought him into conflict with Jaipāla, the Hindu Raja of the Shahi dynasty, who ruled over the country from Lamghān to the river Chenab. In 986 Jaipāla advanced upon Ghazni to punish a raid of Subuktigin but he was forced to make peace. He agreed to pay a heavy fine and cede some fortresses on the frontier. But he soon broke his promise and captured the officers of Subuktigin who had been sent to take charge of the ceded towns. This brought the Amir again with a large force

to India. Jaipāla organised a league of the Hindu princes of Northern India and advanced towards Ghazni at the head of 100,000 men to meet the invaders. A furious battle was fought in which Jaipāla was defeated and compelled to cede to the conqueror the districts between Lamghān and Peshawar. In 994 Subuktigin seized the province of Khorasan and appointed his son Mahmud as his Viceroy. Three years later he died, leaving a large and powerful kingdom for his successors.

After Subuktigin's death the throne was contested by his two sons Ismail and Mahmud, who was the elder of the two. Mahmud succeeded in defeating his rival and became the master of the kingdom of Ghazni.

The kingdom of Ghazni at the time of Mahmud's accession consisted of the country now called Afghanistan and Khorasan, the eastern province of Persia. He enlarged it by his conquests and annexed Seistan, a year later. His conquests brought him the recognition of the Khalifa and the title of Yaminuddowlah. This gave a fresh encouragement to his zeal for conquest and he resolved to lead an expedition every year against the idolaters of India. Being a fanatical and warlike Muslim, he looked upon these plundering raids as *Jihād* or holy war against the Hindus. During the year 1000—1026 he led as many as seventeen expeditions into India and brought back vast wealth which added to the glory of his empire.

Mahmud of
Ghazni.

In his first expedition which he led in 1000 A.D. Mahmud was able to capture several frontier fortresses and districts which were entrusted by him to his own governor. Next he invaded (1001 A.D.) the territory of Jaipāla, who was ruling over the Punjab with Bhatinda as his capital. A fierce battle was fought near Peshawar in which the Hindus were defeated. The Raja was captured with his kinsmen and signed a treaty according to which he agreed to pay a large ransom and to surrender fifty elephants. He was so hard

Defeat of
Jaipāla.

pressed that he consented to give one son and one grandson as hostage for fulfilling the terms of the treaty. But, preferring death to dishonour, he burnt himself alive and was thus saved from humiliation.

Against
Ānand-
pāla.

Jaipāla's son Ānandpāla grew anxious at the increasing power of Mahmud and he tried to check his advance towards Hindustan. He knew that he was powerless to do it himself and therefore appealed to the neighbouring Rajas for help. It is said that even women sold their jewels and sent money from the distant parts of the country. The poorer women worked day and night at their spinning-wheels to be able to send some aid to the common cause. Having heard the news of these preparations, Mahmud crossed the Indus on the 31st December, 1008, and met the invaders. In the first charge about 5,000 Muslims were slain and the Sultan, being panic-stricken, thought of flight. But suddenly Ānandpāla's elephant took fright and fled from the battle-field. His troops lost courage and were easily defeated by the Muslims. Mahmud chased the fugitives to the fort of Nagarkot which was situated on a hill near Kangra. The temple of Jwālāmukhī famous all over India was sacked and vast booty was captured by the invaders.

Other Expe-
ditions.

The success which attended Mahmud's arms led him to repeat his invasions almost every year. In 1018 he marched against the Raja of Kanauj. On his way to the imperial capital of the Hindus, he captured Baran (modern Bulandshahr) and it is said that the Raja submitted and with ten thousand men embraced Islam. From there Mahmud advanced to Mathura, the famous city of the Hindus, and was lost in admiration of the magnificent temples which he saw there. The city was plundered, the temples were razed to the ground, and a vast booty was captured including 50,000 dinars of gold and silver images.

Leaving the bulk of his army behind, the Sultan resumed

plains. The Hindus of this period had lost their political unity owing to the existence of various independent states. The Rajput rulers were constantly fighting against one another and internal dissensions and strifes had weakened their power of resistance, rendering the task of the invaders easy. There was no patriotism among the chiefs and the people and no capacity for combined action. To lack of discipline was added lack of unity of command. The soldiers of Mahmud were inspired with religious zeal which led them to make the greatest sacrifices for the cause. Mahmud was himself a born leader of men, and his heroic example produced a great effect upon his followers. Love of adventure and devotion to a leader who professed to fight for their faith made them fearless in battle, the more so when they were pitted against men whom they regarded as infidels.

Character of
Mahmud.

Muslim writers have exalted Mahmud to the position of a saint but there is little justification for such a view. There is no doubt that he was one of the greatest rulers of Asia. He developed by sheer force of genius, his father's small principality into a large empire. He was a great commander and a born military leader. He was stern in administering justice and was always prepared to protect the weak and the oppressed and showed no indulgence towards his officers and nobles when they went wrong. He loved money passionately and left a vast amount of treasure at his death. He was a devout Sunni who said the usual prayers and in the month of Ramzan set apart $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his property to be spent in charity. He was a religious zealot who never refrained from exploiting the zeal of his followers for his own advantage. A modern Muslim writer says that he had the missionary spirit in him but there is nothing to show that he cared for conversions or the spread of the faith in the areas which suffered from his raids.

Though Mahmud was the destroyer of temples and the

plunderer of wealth, he was not a barbarian. He was a great patron of men of letters. His court was adorned by a number of famous poets and scholars some of whom were well-known all over Asia. There were men like Al-Beruni, the philosopher and Sanskrit scholar, 'Utbi, the historian, and a number of other lesser lights. Among the poets the most famous was Firdausi, the author of the *Shahnamah*. It is said that the poet toiled hard to complete the great epic but owing to the jealousy of 'Unsuri, another court poet, he did not receive the reward promised by the Sultan.*

Although Mahmud's treatment of Firdausi was harsh, it must be said that he was very generous towards scholars and men of piety. He established a University at Ghazni for the promotion of learning among his subjects. He built beautiful mosques and public buildings to adorn his capital which became one of the finest cities of Asia. The Indian masons and craftsmen whom Mahmud carried to Ghazni from Mathura and other places in India became the pioneers of what has been termed the Indo-Sarcenic Art.

Abu Rihān Al-Beruni was a great scholar who came to India in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. He stayed for some time in this country and studied philosophy, astronomy and other branches of learning. He speaks of the Hindus as a haughty and conceited people who looked upon foreigners as Mlecchas and avoided contact with them. They believed in one God but image worship was common throughout the land. The caste-system existed but the members of the

Al-Beruni
on Indian
society in
the tenth
century.

* It is said that the Sultan promised to give the poet 60,000 *mishkāl*s of gold, but when the book was completed he offered 60,000 *dirhams* of silver. The poet was much offended and refused to accept anything. At last the Sultan realised his mistake and sent the promised reward, but when it reached him, the poet's corpse was being borne out of his house. Firdausi's satire on Mahmud is well known in Asiatic history.

various castes lived in the same towns and villages and mixed together in the same houses and lodgings. Early marriage prevailed and matches were arranged by parents and no dowry was settled. There was no divorce. Widows were not allowed to marry. They had to choose between life-long widowhood or burning themselves in flames. The wives of kings generally adopted the latter course. The administration of justice was liberal and humane but ordeal was freely resorted to. Taxation was mild and the state took only one-sixth of the produce. The Brahmanas were exempt from taxation. The numerous festivals mentioned by Al-Beruni indicate the prosperity of the common people.

Al-Beruni found some difficulty in learning Sanskrit and he writes that the Hindus are niggardly in imparting knowledge to foreigners.

Fall of the
Ghaznavides.

Mahmud of Ghazni was not a great administrator. He failed to establish peace and order in the lands which he conquered. He devised no laws and founded no institutions for the better government of his dominions. Such political organisation as that of Mahmud was unfitted to hold a large dominion. After his death the elements of disorder asserted themselves and sapped the very foundations of his empire.

The successors of Mahmud were weak. None of them was able to control the forces of disorder and save the empire from decay. Masud, the immediate successor of the Sultan, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Saljūq Turks in 1040 A.D. and Persia broke away from the Ghaznavide empire. In 1043 the Hindus asserted themselves in Lahore. but they were again reduced to submission by the Ghazni army. Later the Saljūq Turks raided Ghazni and set up their own nominees on the throne.

But the final fall of the Ghaznavides was brought about by the Sur Afghans of Ghor who had offered allegiance to

Sultan Mahmud but after his death wanted to be independent. They got an opportunity when one of their chiefs was put to death by the order of Bahram, the ruler of Ghazni. Alauddin, the brother of the deceased prince, swore to take revenge and defeated Bahram in 1150. The power of Ghazni rapidly declined and the house of Ghor rose into prominence. Alauddin's nephew Ghiyasuddin brought Ghazni under his control in 1173 and entrusted it to the charge of his brother Muiz ud-Din-bin-Sām better known in history as Muhammad Ghorī.

The house of Ghazni retained possession of the Punjab for a few years more, but the last ruler of this house Khusrau Malik suffered a defeat at the hands of Muhammad Ghorī and the dynasty of Subuktigin came to an inglorious end.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Alaptgin seizes Ghazni	933
Alaptgin's death	963
Subuktigin's accession to the throne	977
Jaipāla's advance upon Ghazni	986
Subuktigin's seizure of Khorasan	994
Mahmud's first expedition against Frontier fortresses ...	1000
Mahmud's advance against Ānandpāla	1008
Mahmud's invasion of Kanauj	1018
Mahmud's peace with Ganda	1021-22
Expedition to Somnath	1026
Mahmud's death	1030
Masud's defeat by the Saljūq Turks	1040
Alauddin defeated Bahram	1150
Ghiyasuddin conquers Ghazni	1173

MUHAMMAD GHORI AND THE CONQUEST OF HINDUSTAN

Early in
vasions.

After establishing himself at Ghazni Muhammad Ghorî directed his attention to the conquest of Hindustan. In 1175 A.D. he was able to conquer Ucch and Multan. But his invasion of Gujarat proved a failure, for he was defeated and repulsed by Bhimdeva, the Raja of Nehrwalla. As has been said before, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon Khusrau Malik in 1186 A.D. and put an end to the dynasty of Subuktigin. Thus he obtained possession of the Punjab and Sindh.

Fall of the
Rajput Em-
pire.

The frontier provinces had thus been conquered and occupied by Muhammad Ghorî, but the mastery of Hindustan was still a far-off thing. The Rajputs who were ruling over wealthy and prosperous kingdoms in the interior of India were not prepared to yield even an inch of ground without stubborn resistance. They were heroic, chivalrous and warlike and were always willing to fight to the death.

Beyond the borders of the Punjab lay the mighty kingdom of the Chauhan Rajputs, ruled by Raja Prithvi Raj with Delhi as his capital and Ajmer as an important outpost. The Raja was one of the greatest commanders and bravest soldiers of his time. When Muhammad Ghorî marched towards Sirhind in 1191, he had to face the opposition of this powerful chief, who inflicted upon him a crushing defeat upon the plains of Tarain. The Ghorî chief received a severe wound and was carried off the field of battle by a faithful soldier and his life was saved. His army was shattered and his soldiers fled in all directions. Never before the Muslims

had suffered such a terrible disaster at the hands of the Hindus. Muhammad never forgot this defeat and began to organise a large army to avenge his disgrace. When his preparations were completed, he invaded Hindustan in 1192 with 120,000 horse.

Prithvi Raj was greatly alarmed and issued a fervent appeal to his fellow-princes for help. About 150 Rajput princes rallied round his banner. Raja Jayachandra, the Rathor ruler of Kanauj, kept aloof from this war for he had a personal grudge against the Chauhan prince. The two armies met again on the field of Tarain in 1193 A.D. A furious battle was fought in which the Hindus were defeated and the Chauhan Raja was captured and put to death.

The rout of the Chauhans was a serious blow to the Rajput power. The Hindus lost their courage and the Muslims were able to capture Ajmer, Hansi, Saraswati, Delhi and Koil (Aligarh). The Sultan then returned to Ghazni, placing his Indian possessions in charge of his slave Qutbuddin Aibak.

Qutbuddin was no less energetic than his master in bringing more and more lands under Islamic sway. He captured Hansi, Meerut and Delhi which was still in the hands of the Chauhans and then marched into the Doab and seized Koil (near modern Aligarh). A month or two later he joined his master who had returned to India in 1194 at the head of a large army to attack Jayachandra, the Raja of Kanauj and Benares.

Conquests of
Qutbuddin.

The Hindus fought bravely again but they were defeated and Jayachandra was killed. His vast treasure, locked in the fortress of Asi, was plundered. After this catastrophe the Rathors migrated to Rajputana and established the principality of Jodhpur. The Sultan proceeded from there to Benares, plundered the city and razed many temples to the ground. The fertile plains from Delhi to Benares now lay at the feet of the conqueror.

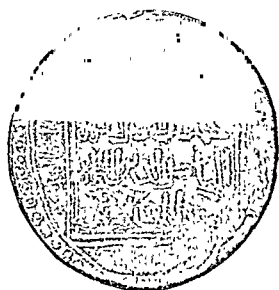
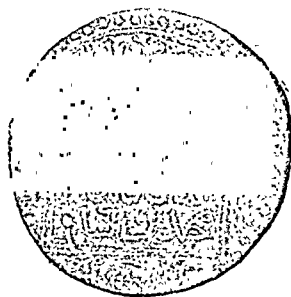
Defeat of
the Rathors.

Other con-
quests.

Muhammad returned to Ghazni after the fall of Jayachandra but his viceroy Qutbuddin carried on his work in Hindustan. He conquered Ajmer and returned it to its lawful ruler who was a vassal of the Sultan. In 1195 he marched against Bhimadeva, the Raja of Nehrwala, and defeated him. About the same time Gwalior, Biyana and some other places were also reduced to submission.

Conquest of
Bihar and
Bengal.

While all this was going on in the north-west, another general of Muhammad Ghori, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar, conquered Bihar (1197) with only 2000 soldiers and destroyed the Buddhist temples and libraries. This conquest was followed by that of Bengal which was ruled at the time by Raja Lakshmanasena with Nudiah or Navadvipa as his capital. Muhammad's sudden raid on Nudiah was a complete success and the Raja fled without offering any resistance. The story that the Musalman general captured Nudiah with 18 horsemen is entirely incorrect. Muhammad fixed his capital at Gaur or Lakhnauti and caused the *Khutba* to be read in the name of Muhammad Ghori.



Coins of Sultan Muhammad Ghori.

Conquest of
Kalanjar.

In 1202 the peace of Northern India was disturbed by Qutbuddin who marched against Parmā, the Chandela Raja of Kalanjar. The Raja suffered a defeat and agreed to pay tribute. But his sudden death made matters difficult. The

minister who managed his affairs refused to carry out the terms of the treaty. Aibak marched against him, took the fort by storm and captured enormous booty. He then proceeded against Mahoba which was easily reduced.

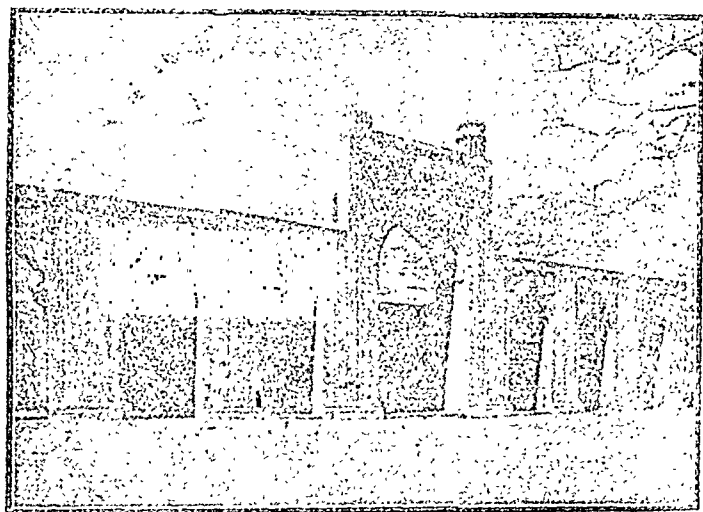
In 1205 the Sultan again marched with his army to suppress disorder in the Khokhar country. He was able to pacify them, but when he was returning in 1206 to Ghazni, he was stabbed to death by a fanatic of the Mulāhidā sect. The death of Sultan

Muhammad Ghori was not so fanatical as Mahmud of Ghazni, but his contribution to the cause of Islam was far greater than that of his predecessor. He was fully aware that the Hindu political organisation was weak and that the various Rajput states were always fighting against one another. This led him to think of establishing a permanent dominion in India. Mahmud's object was quite different. India's wealth and riches attracted him much more than anything else. He wanted to utilise them for his Central Asian campaigns. It was never his aim to establish an empire in India. Muhammad Ghori, from the very beginning, took a different course. He wanted to establish a permanent Muslim power in India and therefore tried his best to consolidate his conquests. He achieved marvellous success in his designs and during his own life-time the whole of Northern India was brought under his sway. Muhammad Ghori compared with Mahmud of Ghazni.

The chief cause of Muslim success in India was not the superior physical strength of the invaders but the lack of unity and organisation among the Hindus. The numerous Rajput chiefs could never combine against their common enemy and thought only of their selfish interests. They fought amongst themselves for supremacy. The Chauhans of Delhi and the Rathors of Kanauj wasted their energy in mutual fighting to such an extent that neither of them could offer successful resistance to a foreign enemy. There was no feeling of nationality among the Hindus and the chief who fought or

Causes of Muslim success.

organised a league against the foreign invaders did so for the protection of his own small principality and not for the independence of the country as a whole. The Muslims were better organised and were always ready to die for their faith. Even such great military leaders as Mahmud of Ghazni and Amir Timur appealed to the religious sentiments of their followers when they set out for their Indian invasions. The social system of the Hindus was highly defective. They were divided into castes or groups and were incapable of fighting for a cause. Fighting was reserved for a single class. There



Tomb of Sultan Ghori : Roof of the subterranean tomb-chamber. were large communities of men which knew nothing of the art of war and had no interest in it. The results of this was that the recruiting ground of the Rajput chiefs was greatly restricted. In time of need they could not raise large armies. The masses remained indifferent to political changes. They did not care who invaded the country so long as they were left alone and allowed to till their land in peace. The Muslims

acted as one social unit. Islam permitted no distinction between man and man and this sense of equality and brotherhood was a source of great strength to its followers when they had to deal with foes who were divided into castes or groups hostile to each other. The Rajputs were not lacking in heroism. They were capable of performing great feats of valour and the recklessness of spirit and disregard of human life which they showed on the battlefield astonished even their enemies. But their military methods were inferior to those of the Muslims. They depended upon their elephants and infantry, whereas the Muslims had a great advantage over them in their well-trained cavalry. The Turkish soldiers on horseback could quickly change their position and attack the Rajput host from all sides. When the elephants, chariots and infantry were all huddled together in a mass owing to pressure exerted from their flanks, the Muslim warriors fell upon them with irresistible fury and butchered them in large numbers.

The Rajput chiefs maintained no foreign offices and knew nothing about the countries beyond the north-west frontier. It was this lack of knowledge which proved fatal to them. The frontier was left unguarded and once the invaders swept across it, it was difficult to check their further advance in a country which was so hopelessly divided.

A large part of Northern India came into Muslim hands but we are not to suppose that the Hindu institutions were altogether discarded by the conquerors. The country was divided into fiefs which were entrusted to the leading nobles. Their chief duty was to maintain peace and order in the lands given to them. But the ordinary day-to-day business of government was carried on according to the Hindu practice. The military needs of the state as well as the aversion of the Muslims for the dry details of administration made the employment of the Hindus in the state necessary. The revenue and

Nature of
the conquest.

village officials were all Hindus. Large tracts of land still remained in the hands of Hindu Rajas and landowners who offered or withheld allegiance according to the strength or weakness of the central power. The Doab was full of chiefs who seldom paid their taxes without coercion. Except when there was a bad governor the Hindus in the interior were left to themselves and did their work unmolested by state officials. But disunion in Hindu ranks still existed and this prevented them from combining to shake off what they regarded as alien domination.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Muhammad Ghorī conquered Ucch and Multan ...	1175
Muhammad Ghorī defeated Khusrau Malik ...	1186
Muhammad's march upon Sirhind ...	1191
Muhammad's invasion of Hindustan ...	1192
Battle of Tarain and defeat of Prithviraj ...	1193
Defeat of Jayachandra by Muhammad ...	1194
Qutbuddin's defeat of Bhimadeva ...	1195
Conquest of Bihar	1197
Defeat of Parmāl	1202
Death of Muhammad Ghorī	1206

THE SLAVE DYNASTY—(1206—90 A.D.)

Qutbuddin Aibak as Sultan of Delhi
(1206—1210 A.D.)

Muhammad Ghori left no son to succeed to his throne. Qutbuddin Aibak as Sultan of Delhi (1206—1210 A.D.). Indeed he treated the matter with indifference and expressed his opinion about the want of a male heir in these words, 'Have I not thousands of children in my Turki slaves who will succeed to my kingdoms, and after my death will continue the Khutba in my name. In India his viceroy Qutbuddin Aibak declared himself king and became the first of a long line of Delhi Sultans. He was a very efficient administrator and was always ready to promote peace and prosperity in the country. He was stern in administering justice and treated the Hindus with kindness. In order to strengthen his position he formed marriage connections with men of high position. He gave his sister in marriage to Qubaicha and his daughter to Iltutmish, one of his own slaves. He himself married the daughter of Tajuddin Eldoz. He was famous for his generosity and was styled as '*Lakhabakhsha*' or giver of lakhs. It was Qutbuddin who began the construction of the Quthi Minar which was afterwards completed by Iltutmish.

In 1210 A.D. Qutbuddin Aibak fell from his horse while playing chowgan and died. He was succeeded by his son Arām Shah, who after a brief reign of one year was defeated and dethroned by Iltutmish, the governor of Badaon. At this time the political unity of the Muslim dominion in India was

broken up and it was divided into four independent principalities. Sindh was ruled by Qubaicha; Delhi was held by Iltutmish; Bengal was in possession of the Khilji Malik and Lahore was alternately held by the rulers of Ghazni and Delhi.

Shamsh-ud-
din Iltut-
mish (1211
—1236 A.D.)



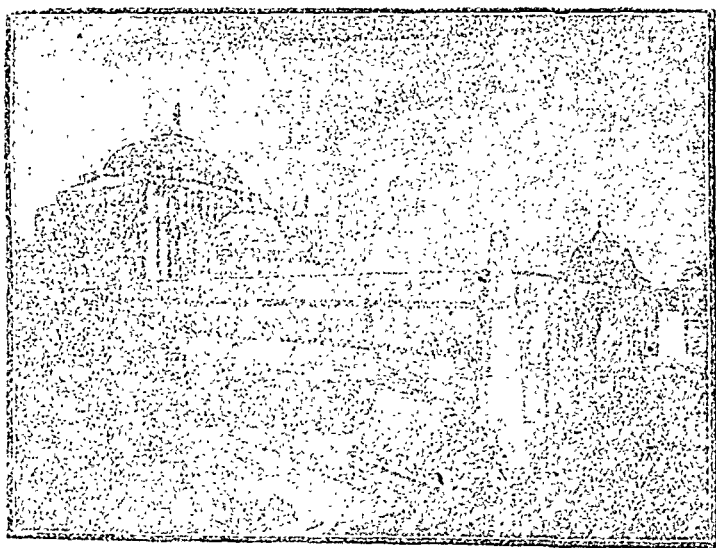
Qutb Minar.

Iltutmish wrongly written as Altamash by European writers was a Turk of the Ilbāri tribe who was purchased by Quthuddin. He was a man of noble birth and by his ability rapidly rose in his master's favour. He seized the throne from Arām Shah in 1210. Indeed he was the first Sultan of Delhi in the strict sense of the term and was the greatest of the slave kings. He was a very strong ruler and was gifted with the qualities of a soldier and administrator which enabled him to overcome his difficulties. First, he busied himself in overpowering the refractory Amirs of

Delhi and brought the kingdom fully under his control. He then resolved to suppress his rivals and to remove them out

of his way. In 1215 A.D. Eldoz was defeated and put to death. Next came the turn of Qubaicha who was defeated in 1217 A.D. but who submitted finally in 1227 A.D.

The Sultan was still busy in suppressing his rivals when in 1221 A.D. he was confronted with a serious danger. The Mughals, who were ferocious savages, had, under their leader Chingez Khan, ravaged the countries of Mongolia, China and Turkestan. They appeared on the Indian frontier, pursuing Jalaluddin, the ruler of Khwarizm, whom they had driven out of his country. The Shah asked Iltutmish for help but the latter declined and put his envoy to death.



Iltutmish's mosque at Badaon.

With the troops he could collect, he gave battle to the Mughals on the bank of the Indus but he was defeated. He fled to Persia where he was killed by an enemy. The Mughals returned to their country and thus a great danger was averted from India.

Iltutmish was now free to crush his native enemies. He conquered Bengal in 1225 A.D. and was able to annex Sindh in 1228 A.D. He defeated the Rajputs also in several engagements and conquered Ranthambhor, Mandu, Gwalior, Malwa and Ujjain. His attempt on Mewar proved a failure. Thus in 1235 A.D., when Iltutmish died, he was the undisputed master of the whole of Northern India and his empire extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Narbada river and from Sindh to Bengal.

An act of great political significance was the recognition of his title to rule over the Musalmans by the Abbasid Khalifa, the religious head of the Islamic world. Such a recognition was considered necessary in those days. Powerful kings like Mahmud of Ghazni had secured it. The Muslim state in India ruled over by a slave needed such a sanction all the more. In 1229 Iltutmish at his own request was granted a patent and a robe of investiture and the Khalifa recognised his title to rule over the "Faithful."

As the sons of Iltutmish were quite unfit to manage his large empire, he nominated his daughter Reziya as his successor. But the nobles could not tolerate the elevation of a woman to the throne and chose prince Rukn-ud-din, a son of Iltutmish, for the purpose. But, being a debauchee and a pleasure-seeker, he disappointed the hopes of the nobles whose choice now fell upon Reziya, the nominee of her father.

In the beginning she had to face the opposition of some influential nobles but her courage and diplomacy enabled her to meet the situation well and to restore peace and order in the realm. She was a sagacious and talented woman and regarded the welfare of her subjects as an essential duty. She was a just ruler who tried her best to discharge the duties of the kingly office. She put off her female garments, dressed like a man and sat in open darbar to transact business. But her sex was her great disqualification. She show-

Reziya
Begam,
1236—1240
A.D.).

ed favour to an Abyssinian slave Yāqūt and appeared in public—a conduct which greatly displeased the nobles. In order to strengthen her position she married Altunia, a Turkish Amir, but the opposition proved too formidable for her. Both Reziya and her husband were captured and put to death by some Hindus in 1240 A.D.



Reziya Begam.

A word may be said about the 'Corps of Forty' which played an important part in the history of the so-called Slave Dynasty. Although the rulers of this dynasty had attained free status long before their elevation to high dignity, they had to deal with Turkish nobles—many of whom had been slaves at one time—who were not easy to control. These nobles formed themselves into the 'Corps of Forty,' divided

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the fiefs amongst themselves and occupied the highest offices in the state. Iltutmish kept them in check but after his death they became very powerful. Their ambition increased and when the crown passed into the hands of weak and incompetent kings, they reduced them to the position of puppets and took all power in their hands.

Puppet
Kings—
Nāsiruddin
Mahmud
(1246—66
A.D.).

The successors of Reziya were weak and incapable men unfit to occupy the throne at such a critical period. Two of her brothers and a nephew were all deposed and killed in a short time. In 1246 the crown fell to the lot of Nāsiruddin Mahmud, a younger son of Iltutmish, a pious and god-fearing man. He lived the life of a *Darvesh* (saint) and had little aptitude for the business of government. The Islamic dominion was a new thing in India and the Hindus were not yet reconciled to it. The Doab gave much trouble and the Zamindars besides adding to the insecurity of the country refused to pay their tribute. The Mughals had already captured the town of Lahore (1241) and were threatening the north-west frontier. The army was in a state of disorder and the 'Corps of Forty' had become too powerful. The provincial governors who had no strong central government to fear acted as they liked and rendered the situation worse. All round there was intrigue, suspicion and mistrust which made orderly government well-nigh impossible.

But luckily Nāsiruddin had an able minister in Balban who managed the affairs of the state with great vigour and skill. He repelled the Mughal attacks and led several expeditions into the Doab to punish the rebellious Rajas and Zamindars. Mewar was subdued and the chiefs of Chanderi, Marwar and other places were defeated.

Balban's success aroused the jealousy of the nobles and they succeeded in inducing Mahmud to exile him. But his enemies made such a misuse of power that his recall became necessary and he was restored to royal favour again in 1255.

on the condition that his son was allowed to succeed him. Lord Wellesley was extremely annoyed at his 'duplicity and insincerity' of conduct and compelled him to cede to the company in perpetual sovereignty districts in Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur representing nearly one-half of his kingdom.

Lord Wellesley's action was high-handed to a degree. He did not take into account the feelings of Indian princes nor did he show any respect for legal claims. He cared only for the safety and expansion of the British dominions, and it is on this ground that his policy has been justified by British historians. The injustice to the Nawab was clear and the manner in which he was treated admits of no defence. The condition of the people did not improve and the revenue settlement of the ceded districts weighed heavily upon them.

Lord Wellesley and the Marathas (1802—05)

After Mahadji's death in 1794 Nana Phadnavis became the central figure in Maratha politics. He wielded unlimited power but his tutelage so galled the young Peshwa Madho Rao Narayan that he ended his life by committing suicide in 1795. Baji Rao, the son of Raghuba, tried to seize the throne and a fierce contest ensued between him and the Nana which caused much confusion in Maratha affairs. The Nana also died in 1800 and with him departed in the words of Colonel Palmer all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government. Both Sindhia and Holkar tried to gain the upper hand in Poona politics. But Holkar, being stronger of the two, defeated the combined forces of the Sindhia and the Peshwa in October, 1802. The Peshwa fled to Bessein and sought the protection of the English. Lord Wellesely concluded with him the treaty of Bessein (December 31, 1802) by which he accepted all the conditions

The treaty of Bessein.

of the subsidiary alliance. He agreed to receive a British force and a resident at Poona, to allow his foreign policy to be controlled by the English, to cede territory for the maintenance of the British troops and to submit to the arbitration of the English his claims on the Nizam and the Gaekwar with the help of the British. The Peshwa was escorted to his capital in May, 1803, by the British troops.

War with
the
Marathas.

The treaty of Bessein sealed the fate of the Marathas as a great political power. Even in England it was adversely criticised. The Marathas had given no offence to the English. The Peshwa was a cypher and was not free to judge the consequences of his action. The promise of the British to settle his claims on other Maratha chiefs was insulting and likely to cause great difficulties. No wonder, if Sindhia exclaimed in wrath, 'The treaty takes the turban off my head.' The Bhonsla too regarded it as a loss of national independence. The Peshwa concurred in this view and secretly approved their plans. Holkar withdrew from Poona and the Gaekwar remained neutral.

Lord Wellesley opened the campaign with boldness and vigour. Arthur Wellesley, the Governor-General's brother, was the chief commander of the British army. The war was fought in the Deccan and Hindustan. Ahmednagar was captured in 1803 and the combined forces of Sindhia and Bhonsla were routed by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye (September 23, 1803). The next step was to seize the fortress of Burhanpur and Asirgarh with the result that Sindhia offered to make peace. The Bhonsla Raja was defeated at Argaon (November, 1803) and the fortress of Gwaligarh was captured.

The campaign in Hindustan was even more successful. Lake captured Aligarh and in a battle at Delhi defeated the Sindhia's forces. He took the Mughal emperor under protection, granted him a pension of 90 thousand and allowed him

to exercise sovereignty over the capital and the surrounding districts. Lake proceeded to Agra which was taken, after a treaty had been made with the Raja of Bharatpur. Sindhia's forces were routed again at Laswari in November. In other places too the day went against the Marathas.

Treaties were made with Sindhia and Bhonsla. The treaty of Deogaon made with the Bhonsla brought to the English the province of Cuttock and that part of Berar which belonged to him. The acquisition of this territory connected the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Sindhia concluded a treaty at Surji Arjungaon by which he ceded Delhi, Agra and the country, south of the Jamna. He lost all his possessions in the Deccan except Asirgarh. Both Bhonsla and Sindhia recognised the treaty of Bessein and agreed to have residents at their courts. Sindhia was allowed to retain the titles and rewards which he had obtained from the Mughal emperor.

Jaswant Rao Holkar had so far kept aloof from his fellow princes. Now he plundered the Jaipur territory and Lord Wellesley asked him to stop his movements. War began and Colonel Monson marched into Rajputana but he was driven back with heavy losses. Holkar was assisted by Sindhia, the Jats, the Pindari leader Amir Khan and some other chiefs. His attack on Delhi failed and his army was defeated in a battle at Dig in Bharatpur territory. Lake who had already routed Holkar's forces near Farrukhabad hastily marched against the Jat chief of Bharatpur. His four attacks on the mud-fortress failed. At last a peace was made with him in April, 1805, owing to the fear of Sindhia. The failure at Bharatpur was due to the bad temper of Lake, the over-confidence of officers and the weak artillery.

War with
Holkar
(1805).

Lord Wellesley's enemies in England made much of this disaster and he was recalled in 1805. Lord Cornwallis who was now in his 67th year was appointed to succeed him. He

Recall
of Lord
Wellesley.

made peace with Sindhia and Holkar, who were now given a free hand in Central India and Rajputana.

Internal
administra-
tion.

Lord Wellesley pursued a policy of nepotism in distributing offices and fixing their salaries but he made certain important reforms in the administration. He opened a college at Fort William for the training of the Company's civil servants but the scheme was not favoured by the Court of Directors. He tried to balance the budget and raised the credit of the government by improving the country's resources. His imperious temper, his arbitrary exercise of authority, his unjust treatment of the Indian princes greatly annoyed the Directors whom he described as a 'Pack of narrow-minded old women.' An attempt to impeach him was voted down by Parliament and a resolution was passed in praise of his public services. He was certainly more lucky than Warren Hastings.

A period
of reaction
(1806—13).

Lord Cornwallis wanted to reverse the policy of his predecessors but his health was so weak that he died at Ghazipur on the 5th October, 1805. He was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, senior member of Council, who fully adhered to the policy of non-intervention. The only noteworthy event of his time is the Vellore mutiny which occurred in July, 1806. The Commander-in-Chief had ordered the sepoys to wear a new kind of head-dress and prohibited them from putting marks (*tilaks*) on the forehead. Their suspicion was roused and they feared that their religion was in danger. It was said at the time that the sons of Tipu had instigated the rebellion but there is no ground for such a view. The mutineers seized the fort and massacred the English soldiers. A force was sent from Arcot and the disturbance was immediately put down. The sons of Tipu were removed to Calcutta. In 1807 Sir George Barlow was appointed governor of Madras and Lord Minto was sent in his place.

The policy of non-intervention had produced unrest and disorder in the country and it was difficult to continue it longer without sacrificing the public weal. There was complete anarchy in Bundelkhand. The numerous petty chiefs quarrelled among themselves and created trouble. The bandits roamed at large, robbing the people of their goods. Steps were taken to restore order. The disputes of the princes were settled and the brigands were sternly put down.

After Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion the Punjab fell into The Sikh a state of confusion. The Khalsa (the Sikh State) seized Lahore in 1764 and ruled over the whole country from the Jhelam to the Jamna. It was divided into *misals* each of which had a leader who owned land and kept a small band of retainers. Of these *misals* twelve were the most important. Ranjit Singh's grandfather Charat Singh who was the leader of the Sukherkuchia *misal* increased his power by seizing the territories of his neighbours. His son Maha Singh carried on the work of his father and when he died in 1792 he was succeeded by his son Ranjit Singh, a man of a great ability, ambition and force of character.

Ranjit Singh was born in 1780. While yet a lad, Ranjit Singh embarked upon a career of conquest and in a few years built up a kingdom for himself. He received Lahore from Zamanshah and acquired Amritsar in 1802. The next four or five years were spent by him in extending his power. He brought the *misals* under his control and tried to establish a unified Sikh State. He desired to seize the states in the province of Sarhind which were under the protection of the Company and this brought him in contact with the English.

In 1807 Napoleon Bonaparte was at the zenith of his power in Europe. He had just concluded the treaty of Tilsit with the Czar of Russia and was trying to enforce the continental blockade in order to ruin British commerce. Their grand oriental schemes threatened the British empire in India

with ruin. To avert this danger Lord Minto discarded the policy of non-intervention and by means of conquests and diplomatic alliances tried to strengthen the British position in India.

He sent missions to Persia, Afghanistan and the Punjab. In 1808 John Malcolm was sent to Persia and it was after a good deal of wrangling that the Government of India ratified the treaty which had been signed with the agreement of the Home Government. The treaty provided for the expulsion of the French and the help of the Persians by the English against foreign aggression.

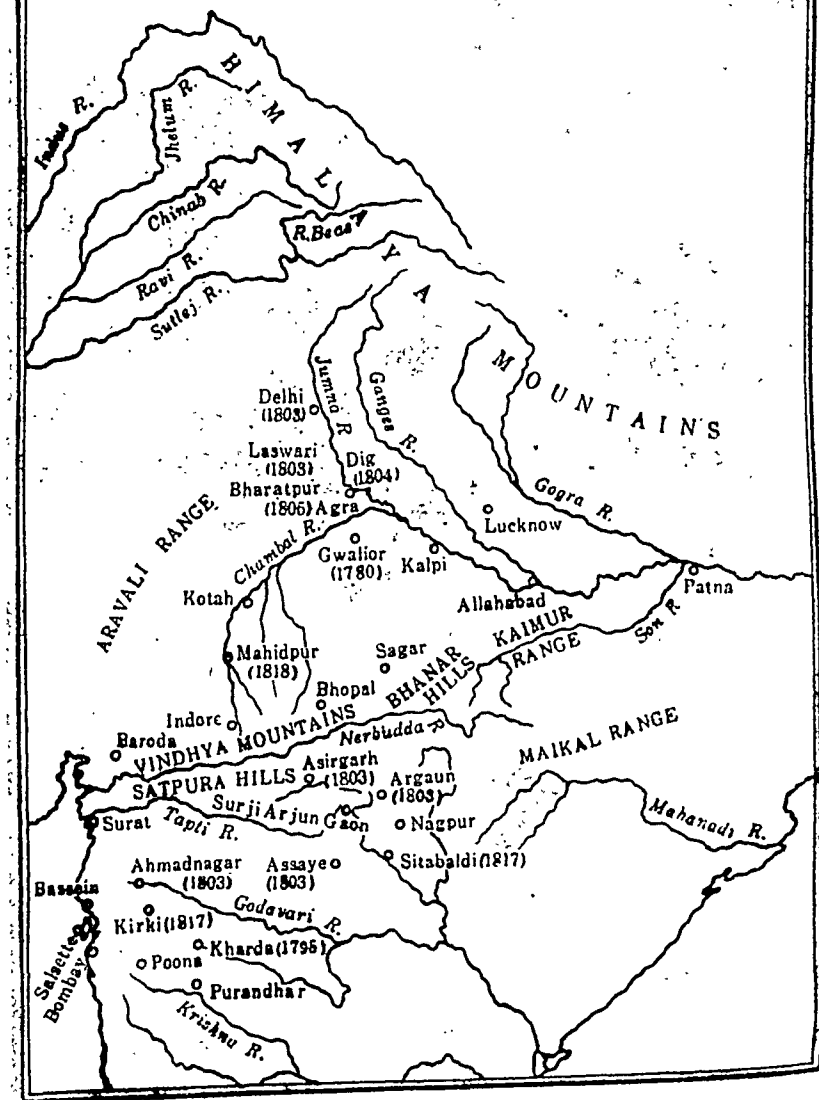
Mount Stuart Elphinstone was sent to Kabul. Shah Shuja, the Amir, met him at Peshwar and promised to resist the French and Persians and to prevent the passage of troops through his country. The treaty produced no results for Shah Shuja was soon afterwards driven from his country. Another treaty was concluded with the Amirs of Sindh who agreed to turn out all Frenchmen from their dominions.

It was a difficult task to deal with Ranjit Singh for he wanted British help against the Cis-Sutlej states. But the victory of the English over the French in Spain at once changed the situation. Sir Charles Metcalf, the British envoy, used all his skill and diplomacy to induce Ranjit Singh to sign the treaty of Amritsar in April, 1809. He gave up his claims on the Cis-Sutlej districts and friendly relations were established between the Sikh state and the British Government. The treaty was faithfully observed as long as the Maharaja lived and was violated only after his death.

It was found necessary to send expeditions against the French possessions in the east. In 1810 the Indian Government fitted out naval expeditions and Bourbon and Mauritius were captured.

Lord Minto boasted that he had suppressed anarchy in

Maratha Wars 1803-18



India without drawing his sword against the Indian powers. He retired in 1813 and the Earl of Moira was appointed to succeed him.

The Company's Charter was renewed for another 20 years. ^{The Company's Charter (1813).} There was a strong feeling against the Company's monopoly of trade which was taken away. They were allowed to retain the monopoly of the China trade. The proposal to take away the political rights of the Company was rejected. No European was allowed to go to India without a licence either from the Company or the Board of Control. For the first time the Company set apart a sum of £10,000 for the encouragement of education among Indians. The amount was not large but the admission that it was the duty of the Government to improve the condition of the people was a matter of great importance.

As Wellesley had dealt a severe blow to the power of ^{India in 1812.} the Marathas, his soft words failed to cool their wrath and reconcile them to British dominion. Cornwallis and Barlow followed a weak policy and abandoned the Rajput states to the mercies of the Pindaris and Marathas. The policy of non-intervention produced disastrous results for the English and lowered their prestige. Sindhia was allowed to recover Gohad. Gwalior and other tracts of land and to Holkar were restored certain districts in Rajputana. In Central India there was great political confusion. Jaswant Rao Holkar died in 1811 and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Malhar Rao. The administration was thrown out of gear by the quarrels of factions and so weak was the authority of the state that the revenue could be collected only at the point of the sword. The feuds of Holkar and Sindhia distracted the latter's state and the Pindaris plundered the country and harassed the people. In the words of Malcolm the people were crushed by despots and ruined by exactions. The country was overrun by dacoits and government had ceased to exist.

The
Gurkha
War
(1814—16).

The first trouble of Lord Hastings came from Nepal, a mountainous country lying along the northern frontier of Oudh and Bengal. The inhabitants of the country, called the Gurkhas, were a hardy race in no way inferior to the English in physical courage and endurance. They claimed the entire Tarai and seized the districts of Sheoraj and Butwal. The British Government at once declared war.

It was difficult to penetrate the hilly country and the first campaign conducted by General Ochterlony was a failure. General Gillespie was defeated and killed in assaulting a hill fortress. The other British generals were similarly repulsed and driven back. But Ochterlony stuck to his position in West Nepal and marched towards the capital. Negotiations for peace began and the treaty of Sigoli was signed in March, 1816. The Gurkhas gave up most of their claims on the Tarai and ceded the provinces of Kamaon and Garhwal. The beautiful site on which Simla now stands was secured and the north-west frontier of the Company reached up to the Himalayas. Sikim was also given up and the Gurkhas agreed to receive a resident at Kathmandu. The relations between the Gurkhas and the English have remained friendly ever since and they have helped each other in time of need.

The
Pindari
War
(1816—18).

The Pindaris were originally irregulars in the Maratha armies, and subsisted by plunder. They are first heard of during the wars between Aurangzeb and Shivaji in the Deccan. They did not belong to any particular religion or caste. Their ranks were swelled in course of time by vagabonds, tramps and lawless persons of all classes. They raided the whole of Rajputana and Central India and inflicted great misery upon the inhabitants. They employed the most atrocious forms of torture and compelled them to disgorge their wealth and set fire to villages. Their leaders Amir Khan, Wasil Muhammad, Chitu and Karim Khan had thousands of

men under their command and with their help spread ruin and disaster in the country districts. They were encouraged in their activities by the Maratha chiefs. Lord Hastings made preparations on a large scale to deal with them. The operations were begun both in Hindustan and the Deccan. A large army of 1,13,000 men was collected and divided into four parts. The northern army was placed under the command of the Governor-General himself and the southern under Sir Thomas Hislop. War with the Marathas broke out at the time but the operations against the Pindaris continued. They were surrounded on all sides and many of them were hunted down and killed. By the end of 1818 they were completely dispersed and destroyed. Amir Khan accepted British protection and was given the principality of Tonk where his descendants are still ruling. Karim Khan also did the same. Chitu fled into the jungle where he was devoured by a tiger. Many of the Pindaris settled down as peaceful peasants and artisans under British rule.

The Peshwa Baji Rao II whom the English had restored at Poona in 1802 was anxious to place himself at the head of the Maratha Confederacy. He was instigated in his plans by his Minister Trimbakji who brought about in July, 1815, the murder of Pandit Ganga Dhar Shastri, the minister of the Gaekwar. The foul murder of a learned Brahman created a sensation in the Maratha world and the Peshwa was suspected of complicity with his minister. Elphinstone, the resident of Poona, demanded the surrender of Trimbakji who was made over to the British authorities. He was thrown into prison but he effected his escape and it was thought not without the Peshwa's help. Elphinstone, annoyed at the Peshwa's conduct, forced him (June, 1817) to sign a treaty by which he ceded some territory and gave up all claims to the headship of the Marathas. Sindhia also signed a treaty by which he promised to give help against the Pindaris (November, 1817).

The final
break-up
of the
Maratha
Confederacy
(1817—19).

A similar alliance had been concluded a year before with Apa Sahib, the regent at Nagpur.

The Peshwa was the first to break his treaty with the English. He attacked the British residency but he was defeated at Kirkee. Apa Sahib also became hostile and he was defeated in the Sitabaldi hills in November, 1817. The Peshwa's appeal to Holkar met with a response but the dissensions in his state and the discontent of the army ensured his defeat at the hands of the British. He was beaten at Mahidpur on the 21st December and portions of his kingdom were seized. Both the Bhonsla and Holkar were compelled to accept the supremacy of the British.

The Peshwa kept up a desperate fight but he was defeated in the battles of Karygam and Ashti. He fought with great gallantry but in the end surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, who granted him a pension of £80,000 a year. He was dethroned from the Peshwaship and was allowed to reside at Bithur, 20 miles north-west of Cawnpore. The office of Peshwa was abolished, a portion of his kingdom was given to the Raja of Satara and the remainder was incorporated with the Bombay Presidency.

The Sindhia entered into a fresh treaty with the Company in 1818 by which he ceded Ajmer and agreed to have his boundaries defined. The Gaekwar agreed to increase his subsidiary force and ceded his portion of Ahmedabad for a cash payment and received in exchange certain other territories. The Rajput states were freed from the tyranny of the Pindaris and were brought under British protection.

The most important result of these wars was the establishment of British paramountcy over the whole of India except Kashmir, Sindh and the Punjab. The independence of the Marathas came to an end and with it the violence and disorder which had long distracted the country.

The Maratha Confederacy was a loose organisation without cohesion or unity. The chiefs quarrelled among themselves and tried to destroy the influence of one another. The Peshwa was the nominal head of the confederacy and was powerless to keep his vassals under control. The Maratha leaders always fought for power and employed every kind of intrigue to get rid of their rivals. There were bitter feuds at Poona and other courts and the administration was neglected. The officers of government were selfish and venal and were utterly indifferent to the interests of the state. The Marathas were not wanting in fighting capacity but their organisation was highly defective. Their armies were mere masses of men belonging to various castes and tribes. They committed a blunder in giving up the guerilla method of warfare which had brought them success against heavy odds in the past. By giving help to the Pindaris they lost the confidence of the people. Even loyalty to their chiefs sat lightly on them and they often changed sides without scruple or regret. In the conquered countries they gave no proof of public spirit and used their conquests merely to squeeze money out of the people. Their treatment of the Indian princes was unfair and ungenerous and drove them into the arms of foreigners. War was needed for the continuance of their empire, but with such inefficient organisation they had little chance of success against the English who were better trained and equipped than themselves. Besides, they had no knowledge of the power and resources of the British people.

The Marathas had a great future before them. They could have easily taken the place of the Mughal empire, if their leaders had buried their differences and realised that permanent states cannot be founded on a system of feuds and bitter rivalries. Their greatest statesman failed for lack of co-operation and unity. Incessant fighting made the growth

Causes of
the fall
of the
Marathas.

of industry and commerce impossible. With such principles and policy the fall of the Maratha empire was inevitable.

The Maratha administration in the 18th century was no longer based upon Shivaji's principles. The Peshwa gradually acquired more power than the Raja himself and became the real ruler of the state. He created jealousies and feuds among the Maratha chiefs by dividing the revenues of one district among several of them. In this way he maintained his power and tried to hold in check their ambitions.

The Peshwa had a large *daftar* which dealt with the revenue and expenditure of all districts and examined their accounts. The village was the unit of the administration. Each village had a Patel, who was a revenue officer and a magistrate. His office was hereditary and he received his wages from the people of the village. Another officer in the village was the Kulkarni who was responsible for peace and order with the Patel. He was always a Brahman.

Above the Patel were the *Māmlatdar* in charge of a Sarkar or Suba and the *Kamavisdar* in charge of a Pargana. They collected the revenue of the village, heard and decided complaints against village officers and were responsible for the collection of revenue. The *Deshmukh* and the *Deshpande* served as a check upon these officers and with them were associated eight *Darakhdars* who sent reports secretly to the Peshwa. Every officer paid a large sum of money at the time of his appointment. In the time of Baji Rao II the post of *Māmlatdar* was formed resulting in much hardship to the peasantry.

The judicial system was defective. There was no regular procedure and no codified law. In most cases custom was followed. Civil cases were submitted to a Panchayat appointed by the Patel and appeal lay to the *Māmlatdar*. Panchayats had limited authority and had no power to enforce their decisions. The criminal cases were decided by the

Panchayats. Punishments were severe. Flogging was common and mutilation of limbs was inflicted even for ordinary offences. The police system was reorganised in Baji Rao II's time but it was corrupt. The officers extorted money by bringing false charges and were often in league with robbers and dacoits.

The chief sources of state revenue were the *Chauth* (one-fourth) and *Sardeshmukhi* (one-tenth). Besides land revenue the state made a large income from taxes, customs duties and duties on purchase and sale, octroi and ferry charges. The *Jakāt* (*Zakat*) was collected from traders of all castes and sects and was farmed out to men who were corrupt and oppressive. It is difficult to give the exact figure of Maratha revenue but in 1798 the total revenue was 6 crores and that of the Peshwa alone about 3 crores.

The Maratha state was a military state. No great works of art or literature owed their existence to its patronage. It did not foster or encourage industries and commerce and did not care to improve the condition of the peasants.

Such was the administration which did little for the people and caused a feeling of insecurity among the masses. An ill-organised state can neither inspire devotion to itself nor can it command the goodwill of the people. With these drawbacks how could the Marathas create a lasting empire?

It was the good fortune of Lord Hastings to have under him a number of capable and devoted officers who had an intimate knowledge of Indian conditions. Thomas Munro settled the land revenue of Madras and established the ryotwari system. As farming was stopped, the cultivator had no fear of being handed over to a stranger who cared only for his own profits. The Zamindars and Polygars were deprived of their military power. They were a great menace to the social order. They made war upon one another and plundered the country districts. By 1818 they

Administrative reforms.

were thoroughly tamed and their relatives settled down as peaceful citizens. The judicial system was also reformed. The new courts became so popular that the Panchayats lost much of their work.

Elphinstone successfully managed the territories obtained from the Peshwa. He adopted the ryotwari system in settling the land revenue.

The judicial system of Bengal needed to be reformed. The procedure of civil courts was simplified and the administration of criminal justice was also improved. The functions of the Collector and Magistrate were combined again. An efficient police system was set up in the towns and the village watch was also reformed.

The permanent settlement was beneficial to the Zamindars but the interests of the ryot were ignored. Measures were taken to safeguard the rights of the peasant's and occupancy rights were conferred upon them to prevent arbitrary ejection.

Lord Hastings encouraged education among Indians. In 1818 the Serampore missionaries started a vernacular newspaper and Lord Hastings encouraged it in spite of the opposition of the high officials of government. He removed from the English press the restrictions which Lord Wellesley had imposed upon it. To supply good drinking water to the people of Delhi he ordered the canal of Ali Mardan Khan to be restored without levying any cess or tax.

Lord Hastings made a mistake in sanctioning the heavy loan which the Firm of Palmer & Co. advanced to the Nizam at an enormous rate of interest. It was a shady transaction which brought much odium upon his head. Lord Hastings laid down his office in 1823 and was succeeded by Lord Amherst. During his ten years of Governor-Generalship he crushed nearly all the rival powers and completed the work of his predecessor.

About the year 1760 when the English were busy in establishing their power in Bengal a Burmese chief Alompra established his rule in Burma. His successors went on extending the frontiers of their kingdom and in 1813 the king of Burma occupied Manipur. In 1817-18 he sent an insolent letter to the British Government in which he claimed Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Cossimbazar. As the Government was engaged in the Pindari war, it took no notice of this letter. But the Burmese aggressions continued and in 1822 they conquered Assam. Emboldened by this success, they attacked in 1823 Shahpuri, a small island near Chittagong, which belonged to the Company. When no reply was received to the remonstrance of the Governor-General war was declared on the 24th February, 1824.

The first
Burmese
War
(1824—26).

It was difficult to conduct a campaign in Burma for the climate is damp and malarious and the troops were likely to suffer great hardships. The English army started by sea and Sir Archibald Campbell occupied Rangoon. But the rains stopped the further progress of the army for six months. The king of Burma sent his gallant general Maha Bundela to invade Bengal from the north-east but he was soon called back. Assam again passed into the hands of the English and Arakan and Tenasserim were conquered by Campbell. In 1825 he moved up the Irawadi both by land and sea. Bundela was defeated and killed after a stubborn fight and after 3 weeks. Prome, the capital of the Lower Burma, was occupied. When the British forces approached towards Yandaboo negotiations for peace began. The treaty of Yandaboo was made in February, 1826, by which the king of Burma agreed to cede Arakan and Tenasserim to the English and to withdraw from Assam and Cachar and to recognise the independence of Manipur. He promised to have a resident at Ava and pay a heavy indemnity.

This war caused much hardship and loss of money to the Company. But it secured a scientific frontier in the north-east and set at rest the fear of a foreign invasion from that quarter.

Siege of
Bharatpur
(1826).

Lord Lake's attempt to capture Bharatpur had failed in Lord Wellesley's time. The Raja died in 1826 and was succeeded by his minor son but the throne was usurped by Durjansal who defied the authority of the British. His attitude produced a great unrest in Malwa, Bundelkhand and the Maratha country. Lord Combermere was sent against Bharatpur and the fort was captured. The usurper was expelled but the British officers disgraced themselves by plundering the treasure found in the fortress.

Lord Amherst retired in 1826. He was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck who had formerly acted as Governor of Madras.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ERA OF PEACE AND REFORM (1828—36)

Lord William Bentinck was a liberal who believed in a new administrative reform and looked upon the welfare of the people as the chief end of government. When he came to India as Governor-General, new forces had begun to work in England and suggestions were made for Parliamentary reform. He fully shared the liberal spirit and during his term of office he tried to maintain peace and to infuse into the Indian administration the spirit of British freedom. For the first time the principle was laid down that no native of India should be debarred from any post on the ground of his caste, creed or colour. Thomas Munro declared that the British Government was to hold India in trust and it was its policy to train Indians to rule themselves.

Lord Bentinck's reforms may be classed under three heads—economic, administrative and social.

Economy was badly needed in the administration. Lord Bentinck reduced the double *bhatta*. He made a rule that in the case of troops stationed within 400 miles of Calcutta only half *bhatta* should be allowed. This caused much discontent among the troops but Lord Bentinck firmly carried out the orders of the Directors. Expenditure in the Civil Service was also cut down and a saving of half a million was effected. A part of the land revenue of Bengal which had remained uncollected was realised and the monopoly of the Malwa opium was retained.

Lord Bentinck abolished the provincial courts of circuit and appeal. Their procedure was slow and tedious and led to three great evils—delay, expense and uncertainty. The work of civil appeals was transferred to the Sadar courts and

that of sessions to the commissioners of revenue but the arrangement was found unsatisfactory and in 1832 it was transferred to the District Judges.

The revenue settlement of the North-West Provinces was completed by Robert Bird who had an intimate knowledge of land tenures. The settlement was made for thirty years and a Board of Revenue was established at Allahabad.

Lord Cornwallis had barred the path of Indians to distinction in Government service and thus perpetrated a great injustice. The powers of Indian judges were enlarged and their salaries were increased. The litigants were allowed to use the vernacular in place of Persian which had so far hampered the work of courts.

Social.

The English were wise enough not to interfere with the religious and social customs of the people of India. By combining politics with religion the Portuguese had landed themselves in great difficulties. The English profited by their example and thus avoided the mistakes which they had made. But it was impossible for them to ignore the feeling that was growing against such inhuman practices as *Sati* and infanticide. The custom of *Sati* had its origin in the devotion of the Hindu woman to her husband. In the beginning widows burnt themselves on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands but later the practice became atrocious and they were forced to burn themselves. Lord William Bentinck resolved to put an end to this horrible custom. Fortified by the opinion of his non-officials and enlightened Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he passed, on the 14th December, 1829, the famous resolution by which *Sati* was declared illegal and punishable as culpable homicide. There was some opposition to the measure in Bengal but it was feeble and short-lived. The petitions of orthodox Indians were rejected and the Privy Council upheld in appeal the policy of the Governor-General.

There were other vile practices which attracted the Governor-General's attention. The Khonds in Orissa were in the habit of sacrificing human beings. In certain places like Rajputana, Ajmer and Khandesh the traffic in women was widely prevalent. Infanticide was common among Rajputs in Kathiawar and certain parts of Rajputana. Able officers were placed on duty among the people and after many years' hard work the latter were persuaded to give up their practices. By a regulation of 1832 slavery was prohibited.

The Thugs were a brotherhood of hereditary assassins ^{Thugos} drawn from all castes and tribes. They were found mostly in Central India. They strangled their victims to death and plundered their goods. At first they attached themselves to a traveller and gained his confidence but when they reached a lonely spot, they threw a piece of cloth round the neck of their victim and drew it tight until he was choked to death. The Thugs had their own language and secret signs by which they made their meaning clear to their comrades. They were pledged to secrecy by solemn oaths and worshipped the goddess Kali. Lord Bentinck established a separate department to deal with Thuggee and placed Major Sleeman in charge of it. Thousands were chased from province to province and were either imprisoned or sentenced to death. An industrial school was established at Jubbulpore and some of them became artisans and learnt to earn their livelihood in a respectable manner.

The Charter Act of 1813 had made some provision for ~~Educational~~ the education of Indians and the Directors made a grant for the encouragement of oriental learning. In 1816 David Hare established the Hindu College at Calcutta with the help of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and began to teach European literature and science. About the same time the Serampore missionaries Carey, Marshman and Ward started a college at Serampore and in 1818 published a newspaper called the

Samachar Darpana or the Mirror of News. In 1820 Alexander Duff established a college in Calcutta. But so far the Government had not recognised English as the medium of education. Opinion was sharply divided on the subject. The Orientalists favoured Indian learning, while the Anglicists pressed for the introduction of a sound liberal education through the medium of English. The controversy was ended by Macaulay's famous minute of 1835 in which he cast the weight of his influence on the side of English education. Macaulay's condemnation of orientalism was utterly wrong but his powerful advocacy served its purpose. A resolution was passed on the 7th March, 1835, by which educational grants were to be utilised for English education alone. The Sanskrit and Arabic colleges were maintained but the policy of Government in regard to education was changed.

Macaulay's decision has had an important effect on Indian society. English education has opened to us new fields of knowledge and has brought about unity in the country. The old barriers of provincialism and language have disappeared and the inhabitants of various parts of India can now express themselves through a common tongue. The study of western science and literature has been a great factor in the rise of Indian nationalism. But the drawbacks of this policy are serious. It has retarded the progress of the vernaculars and the diffusion of mass education. The foreign medium has been a great handicap to Indian students who despite their keen intelligence lack originality and independence of thought which are the true end and aim of all education.

Lord Bentinck adopted the policy of non-intervention and allowed the Indian states to have a free hand in their affairs so long as they discharged their treaty obligations to the Company. But in case of misgovernment he interfered

and tried to assert himself as a benevolent and powerful protector.

In Mysore the Raja whom Wellesley had set up turned Mysore out utterly worthless. Riots and disturbances occurred and good government came to an end. The Raja was deposed in 1831 and the administration was entrusted to a British Commissioner with four assistants.

In 1832 the small kingdom of Cachar on the north-east Cachar frontier of Bengal was annexed at the request of the inhabitants themselves.

The case of Coorg was more serious. The Raja was Coorg guilty of gross misconduct. He inflicted barbarous punishments upon those who offended him and even his near relatives found it difficult to escape from his fury. In 1834 the Raja was declared unfit to rule and Coorg was annexed to the British dominions in accordance with the wishes of the people. Since then Coorg has formed a part of the Madras Presidency.

The Nawab of Oudh was a capricious and arbitrary ruler Oudh who spoiled the administration by interfering in the work of ministers. The Resident reported the matter to the Central Government. Lord Bentinck visited the Nawab at Lucknow and plainly told him that unless he conducted his government on better principles, his fate would be the same as that of the rulers of Carnatic and Tanjore. The Nawab complained that the interference of the British Government only helped the growth of abuses. The impression created in Oudh by Lord Bentinck's interference was that the British Government was waiting only for a pretext for annexation. The minister resigned in disgust leaving the administration to the Nawab and his favourites.

The policy of the British Government towards the Indian states was neither uniform nor consistent. At first the principle of non-intervention was laid down and then it was at

once discarded to suppress the evils arising therefrom. The Indian rulers often claimed that they were neither permitted to set their affairs in order nor did they receive any assistance from the paramount power.

The Bhonsla Raja attained majority and his desire to assume the administration in his hands was granted by the Governor-General. The affairs were well-managed and the state continued to be prosperous.

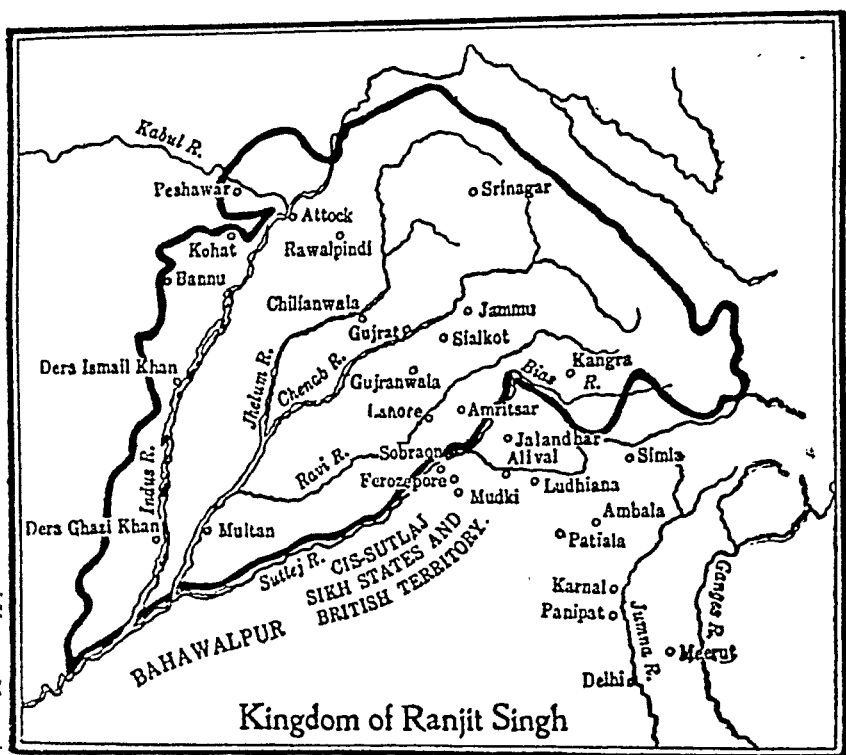
Marathas.

But in the state of the Gaekwar there was confusion and maladministration. The Holkar state was also distracted by a succession dispute. The British Government supported the claims of Haree Holkar, a nephew of Jaswant Rao Holkar, but he proved unequal to the task. He allowed himself to become a tool in the hands of his minister—a fact which led to disturbances and rebellions.

Daulat Rao Sindhia died in March, 1827, after a distinguished public career. He left no son but his widow Baizabai adopted Jankoji, a boy of 11 years, and continued to govern the state as regent. A serious quarrel arose when the Rani refused to make over the administration of the state to Jankoji who had attained majority. A civil war was averted by the timely intervention of the Resident. Baizabai, seeing that her cause was hopeless, retired with a liberal pension to her Jagir in the Deccan.

Sikhs.

Since Lord Minto's mission in 1809 Ranjit Singh had greatly increased his power. He had organised a large army consisting of Indian and European officers and made it highly efficient by introducing European drill and discipline. The Sikhs became the finest soldiers in India and helped him to bring the whole of the Punjab under his control. He acquired Attock on the Indus which became his boundary. Multan came into his hands in 1818, and some time later he conquered Kashmir—a victory which he celebrated by illuminating Lahore and Amritsar for three nights. In 1823



he defeated the Afghans and Pathans at the head of a large army and seized Peshawar. He sacked the whole country up to the mouth of the Khaiber and struck terror into the hearts of his opponents. He had already taken Derajat, a strip of land between the Indus and the Sulaiman range, extending to the borders of Sindh.

Ranjit Singh was fully alive to the advantages of the English alliance for he knew that his sons might not be able to keep under control the martial race of the Sikhs. Lord Bentinck was also desirous of maintaining friendly relations between the Khalsa Durbar and the British Government.

A meeting was arranged at Rupar in 1831. The Governor-General received Ranjit Singh with great courtesy and honour and concluded a treaty with him by which perpetual friendship was to be maintained between the two powers. The Maharaja agreed to encourage trade along the Sutlej and the upper Indus.

In 1832 a treaty was also made with the Amirs of Sindh who had great misgivings about the motives of the Company's government. They feared lest their independence should be imperilled by doing so. But they yielded at last and their fears were fully justified by subsequent happenings. Within eleven years Sindh became a British province.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1833 for another twenty years. The monopoly of the Chinese trade was taken away. The Company was allowed to carry on the government of India but certain important changes were made in the administration. A fourth member was added to the Governor-General's Council. He was entrusted with the Department of Law and Macaulay was the first to hold the post. The Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were made definitely subordinate to the Governor-General. Europeans were not allowed to settle in India as colonists.

Company's
Charter
(1833).

The most important declaration made by Parliament was that no native of India nor any natural born subject of His Majesty should be disabled for holding any place or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour.

Lord Bentinck resigned in 1835 and Sir Charles Metcalf who had been appointed Governor of the newly created Presidency of Agra was asked provisionally to assume the charge of the Government of India.

The Press
Act.

The most important act of Metcalf's regime was the freedom of the Press. He held that restrictions on the liberty of the Press were wholly contrary to British traditions and he was supported in this by Macaulay, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council. An Act was passed in September, 1835, which freed the Press from all restrictions.

The Governor-Generalship was offered to Mount Stuart Elphinstone but he declined it for reasons of health. In an evil hour Lord Auckland was appointed Governor-General and in his hands British policy entered on a new phase.

Character
of Lord
Bentinck.

Lord William Bentinck will always rank high among British proconsuls. He was a liberal politician who was animated by the desire to promote public well-being. His plans were bold and were executed with firmness and courage. He was sympathetic towards the Indians and opened to them careers in the public service. His policy towards the Indian rulers was timid and halting and led to confusion and misgovernment.

Chronological Summary

			A.D.
Abolition of Sati	...	...	1829
Assumption of Mysore administration	...	...	1831

Treaty with Ranjit Singh	...	...	...	1831
Annexation of Cachar	...	...	...	1832
Treaty with the Amirs of Sindh	...	...	...	1832
Renewal of the Company's Charter	...	...	...	1833
Macaulay's Minute	...	...	...	1835
Freedom of the Press	...	...	...	1835

THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN FRONTIERS

The Afghans, Sikhs and Burmans

(1836—56, A.D.)

The
state of
Afghanistan.

The North-Western Frontier has always given trouble to Indian governments. The Mughal emperors from Akbar down to Aurangzeb sent their armies to the frontier to conquer the tribes and establish their influence. The British found it necessary to control Afghanistan as a barrier against Russian aggression. Lord Auckland exaggerated the Russian menace and his mistaken calculations landed the Indian government in great difficulties.

Afghanistan was at this time in a state of disorder. The Abdali dynasty had been ousted by Dost Muhammad of the Barukzai clan who had established himself as Amir at Kabul. Shah Shuja, the exiled Abdali chief, was living at Ludhiana in the hope of recovering his throne. In 1837 the Persians laid siege to Herat with the help of the Russians. The English did not want that Herat which was the key to India should fall into the hands of Persia. Dost Muhammad was willing to enter into an alliance with the British but he wanted them to use their good offices with Ranjit Singh in order to persuade him to return Peshawar to the Afghan ruler. But the English did not want to risk their friendship with the Sikh chieftain. Dost Muhammad asked for English help against Persia and Ranjit Singh and was told that the British Government did not want to interfere in the affairs of independent states. Dost Muhammad was an able ruler

and he preferred an English to a Russian alliance. But Lord Auckland and his advisers adopted a very unreasonable attitude towards him and forced him to make overtures to Russia. Soon after the Russian envoy was warmly welcomed at the court of Kabul.

Lord Auckland now made up his mind to interfere and entered into a treaty with Ranjit Singh (26th June, 1838) with a view to reinstate Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. It was an unwise policy. Dost Muhammad was an independent ruler and had a perfect right to enter into alliance with Persia and Russia. He was far abler than Shah Shuja in whom the Afghans had no confidence. It is surprising that Lord Auckland did not foresee the disastrous consequences that were sure to follow his intervention backed by the Sikhs. Even when the Russian menace had ceased to exist and the siege of Herat had been raised, the Governor-General and his friends did not give up their cherished project. They declared war and began the operations.

The British troops marched into Afghanistan by way of Sindh. This was a breach of treaty with the Amirs. Qandhar was occupied and Ghazni was taken by storm in August, 1839, and Shah Shuja was reinstated at Kabul. Shah Shuja was unpopular and depended entirely upon British support. The loose morals of the British troops excited the Afghans and disorder spread throughout the whole country. The house of Alexander Burnes, the British envoy, was attacked by a mob and he was cut to pieces. A treaty was made with Akbar Khan, son of Dost Muhammad, by which it was agreed that the British should evacuate Afghanistan, that Dost Muhammad should be released, and that Shah Shuja should be allowed either to go to India or to stay in Afghanistan with a pension. Akbar Khan promised to escort the British troops through the hilly country but the wild Afghans attacked the retreating army (1842).

The
First
Afghan
War.

and thousands were killed. It is impossible to describe the sufferings caused to men, women and officers by the incompetence of Lord Auckland's government. Out of the 16,000 men who started towards India only one Dr. Brydon survived to relate the story of the ghastly tragedy and 120 fell in the hands of Akbar Khan. All others were killed.

Lord Auckland tried to improve the position but he did not succeed. General Sale defended himself bravely at Jalalabad and Nott maintained himself at Qandhar but at Ghazni Colonel Palmer was compelled to surrender. In the meantime Lord Auckland was recalled and Lord Ellenborough was appointed in his place. He was unnerved at the defeat of Palmer at Ghazni. He at once issued an order that the British army should evacuate Afghanistan. But Shah Shuja's murder complicated the situation and the Governor-General was asked on all sides to reconsider his orders. He adhered to his policy and advised Generals Pollock and Nott to withdraw but to act in concert and retire by way of Ghazni and Kabul. General Nott started for Kabul with 8000 soldiers. He found Ghazni deserted and reduced it without encountering any resistance. Pollock reached Kabul soon afterwards and it was decided to blow up the great bazar where Macnaughten's dead body had been exposed after his murder. The troops burnt and plundered the town without opposition. The orders of the Governor-General were carried out and the armies returned to India.

Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation in which he declared a change of policy and strongly exposed the 'errors' of his predecessor. Another ludicrous act which he did was to order the removal of the gates of Somnath from Ghazni to Agra in the midst of much pomp and splendour. It was found afterwards that the gates were not made of Sandalwood and did not belong to the temple of Somnath. From an Arabic inscription of Subuktgin on them it was

concluded that they belonged to some Muhammadan building. It was clear that the Governor-General had indulged in a spectacular display which was as foolish as it was unnecessary and extravagant.

Dost Muhammad came back to Kabul and once again became Amir. He ruled till 1863 dying at the ripe old age of eighty. The Governor-General's policy was appreciated; he was made an earl and the Parliament passed a vote of thanks in recognition of his services.

Thus the first Afghan war came to an end. It ended in disaster; disgraced British prestige and brought about much loss in men and money.

Sindh was ruled at this time by Amirs, the most important of whom were those of Khairpur, Mirpur and Haiderabad. It was coveted by the British as well as by the Sikhs. The British interest in Sindh was due to the fact that it was a good base of operations against the Afghans and the Indus was highly useful for commercial purposes. A treaty was made with the Amirs in 1838 and a resident was forced upon them. When war broke out, the British troops marched through Sindh and a fresh treaty was made with the Amirs by which they were forced to pay three lakhs of rupees a year as tribute. They faithfully observed the treaty and showed no signs of disaffection even during the Afghan disaster. Still they were accused of bearing ill-will towards the British and Sir Charles Napier was sent to deal with them in 1842. A man of rash and impulsive temper, Napier declared the charges against the Amirs proved and marched upon the fort of Imangarh which was razed to the ground. The Amirs offered resistance but they were defeated in the battle of Miani (February 17, 1843) and their treasure was seized. Sindh was annexed to the British dominions, and Napier remained in the country to settle the administration.

The British policy in regard to Sindh was clearly high-handed and unjust. The charge that the Amirs had broken the treaty was untrue. The blame rests with Napier who wholly misrepresented the situation to the Governor-General and advised extreme measures. The Parliament condemned the policy but did not revise it because it brought political and commercial advantages to the English.

The last public act of Lord Ellenborough was the effective assertion of British sovereignty in Gwalior. After the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia (1827) his widow had adopted a boy who still occupied the throne. The intrigues of rival parties threatened the administration with ruin and the army became too powerful to control. The situation in the Punjab had also become serious after the death of Ranjit Singh and Lord Ellenborough did not want to leave an important state like Gwalior in a disturbed condition. The British forces marched towards the Chambal and two battles were fought. Sir Hugh Gough defeated the Marathas at Maharajpur (December 29, 1843) and this was followed by another victory at Paniyar. Gwalior was reduced to submission and the administration was entrusted to a Council of Regency acting under the advice of a Resident.

Lord Ellenborough's policy did not meet with the approval of the Directors and he was recalled in 1844. He was succeeded by Lord Hardinge.

Ranjit Singh died in 1839 leaving a large kingdom which extended to Laddakh and Tibet and from the Khaiber to Sindh in the south. Towards the east Sutlej was the boundary between the Sikh and British dominions.

of Ranjit Singh was a brave and fearless soldier who took a great delight in war. He held brave men in esteem and gave them rewards and gifts. As a general he commanded the love and devotion of his men who cheerfully risked their

lives in his cause. He was punctual in his habits and did everything at fixed hours. Himself a staunch Sikh, he never forced anybody to embrace Sikhism but many people became Sikhs to obtain his favour. Like most princes of his day, he was fond of wine and pleasure but the love of ease was never allowed to interfere with his duties. Himself illiterate, he respected learned men and recognised the value of education. He had a keen intellect and was eager to acquire knowledge. He was fond of history and encouraged the writing of chronicles which are still a valuable source for the history of his reign. An architect of his fortune, daring in war and prudent in council, Ranjit Singh was a typical military despot who employed the energies of the Sikhs to the best advantage and established in the Punjab an administration which they most needed.

The kingdom was divided into four Subas, Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar and the Subas were divided into parganas. Each Suba was placed under a Nāzim and below him were Kārdārs. Ranjit Singh employed able men in his service and carefully watched their activities. The land tax amounted to one-third of the produce of the soil and in some cases it was one-half. The cultivators' interest was well-looked after and often money was advanced from the treasury to help them. Justice was simple. There were no codes of law nor any definite rules of procedure. The goods and cattle of agriculturists could not be sold by creditors. Suits relating to debts were decided by the local Qazi with the help of the Panchas (arbitrators) but other civil cases were decided in the Panchayats. The criminal law was harsh and cruel. When a thief was traced to a particular village, the whole village was held liable. The usual punishments were fine and mutilation of limbs but there was no capital sentence. Sometimes criminals were branded with red-hot iron on the forehead and sometimes they were

Ranjit
Singh's
administra-
tion.

paraded on an ass throughout the city. The Maharaja practised economy and hoarded a vast treasure.

Ranjit Singh's army consisted of infantry, artillery and cavalry and was trained in European methods of war. Some of his most trusted generals were Europeans like Ventura, Allard and Avitable. Men of all castes and religions were enrolled in the army but the Jats and Sikhs were specially favoured. They were given lands and paid lump sums twice a year at harvest time. There were no fixed scales of pay nor were there any hard and fast rules of promotion. The Maharaja was fond of horses and his stables contained horses of all kinds. The Sikh army under his iron discipline reached a high pitch of efficiency and gave proof of its valour in the wars with the British.

Ranjit Singh's death plunged the country into disorder. The Sikh state under him, though apparently strong, was not wholly without elements of weakness. First, it was a military despotism in which everything depended upon a single man of masterful will and character. As soon as he passed away, the leaders began to quarrel among themselves for power and influence. Secondly, the Sikhs were a turbulent community more qualified for war than for the dull routine of administration. They were difficult to control and their warlike energies constantly demanded an outlet. Thirdly, none of Ranjit Singh's sons was a man of commanding ability and force of character fit to govern a large kingdom. His sons Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh died within a year and their successor Sher Singh (a reputed son of Ranjit Singh) found himself amidst warring factions. The Jammu Rajputs Gulab Singh, Dhyani Singh and Suchet Singh wielded considerable influence in the state. The Sikhs, notably the Sindhanwalas, were jealous of them and tried to oust them from power. The army of the Khalsa was another factor which caused much trouble. It cared nothing for the Durbar.

and decided its affairs by means of Panchayats. Sher Singh, a mere puppet in the hands of rival leaders, was killed in 1843, and Dalip Singh, a son of Ranjit Singh by Rani Jhundan, was raised to the throne.

The Khalsa Durbar appealed to the English for help but they did not want to support Dalip Singh on the ground that he was not a legitimate son of Ranjit Singh. The disorder in the Punjab increased and the British Government made military preparations which alarmed the Sikhs. The conduct of the British agents at Lahore also created a suspicion. Besides, the Rani found it difficult to control the army, and it was decided to find some occupation for it. Many of the Sikh chiefs thought that if the army were destroyed against the English they would find it easy to establish their power. The Sikh soldiers crossed the Sutlej on the 11th December, 1845.

Lord Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, were tried soldiers. They at once collected a large army to meet the Sikhs and defeated them at Mudki. Another action was fought at Firoz Shah in which there was heavy loss on both sides. The Sikhs fought so bravely that Lord Hardinge lost all confidence in Sir Hugh Gough and urged his recall. He took the command in person and the next battle at Aliwal was a victory for the English. The Sikhs were beaten and nearly 50 guns were captured. Again they were defeated in a deadly encounter at Sohraon. Their failure in this war was largely due to the treachery of their leaders.

The First
Sikh War
(1845-46).

Lord Hardinge did not annex the Punjab. He made a treaty (March, 1846) with the Lahore Durbar by which Dalip Singh was recognised as Maharaja and Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed as British Resident. The army was reduced in strength and the Maharaja was asked not to employ a foreigner in his service without the consent of the British.

The Sikhs had to cede the Jalandhar Doab and to pay an indemnity of one crore and a half of rupees. As the treasury could furnish only fifty thousand rupees, the Suba of Kashmir was sold for one crore to Gulab Singh, the Dogra Chief, and he was recognised by the Maharaja as an independent sovereign.

The treaty was modified later owing to an insurrection in Kashmir which was said to have been fomented by the Sikhs. A council of Regency consisting of eight Sardars was formed and it was to act under the guidance of the Resident. A British force was stationed at Lahore at the expense of the Khalsa Durbar. The Rani was deprived of all power and was finally deported to Benares.

Lord
Hardinge's
administra-
tion.

Though the affairs of the Punjab entirely occupied Lord Hardinge's attention, he did not neglect the administration. He supported the project of the Ganges canal and found funds for it. He devised measures to deal with human sacrifice, *Sati* and infanticide. The financial condition of the Government engaged his attention, and he effected economy in the military budget by reducing the Indian army. Lord Hardinge retired in 1848 and was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie who was only 36 years of age at the time of his appointment.

The Second
Sikh War
(1848-49).

The treaty with the Lahore Durbar did not end the unrest in the Punjab. The national party among the Sikhs viewed the power of the English with distrust and the noble families resented their exclusion from high offices in the state. The British Resident (Sir Frederick Currie) adopted a policy which was not likely to win the confidence of the Sikhs. Trouble soon broke out at Multan where Mool Raj, the governor, took up arms. He was asked by the Lahore Durbar to render account of his stewardship and pay the arrears of tribute but he declined and offered to resign. The Durbar forthwith sent Khan Singh, a Sikh chief, with two

British officers to assist him in his duties. Mool Raj took this as a mortal affront and the two officers were murdered soon after their arrival not without his instigation. Lord Dalhousie delayed action but a young officer Herbert Edwardes hastily collected a force and attacked Multan. Disaffection spread throughout the country and the British Government's wrath fell upon Rani Jhinda who was charged with complicity in the Multan affair and deported to Benares. Her fate hurt the national pride of the Sikhs and their leaders proclaimed a holy war against the British and allied with Dost Muhammad, the Afghan Amir, by offering him the district of Peshawar.

The Governor-General took up the challenge at once. Lord Gough crossed the Ravi (November, 1848) and fought an action at Ramnagar on the Chenab which was indecisive. At Sadullapur the Sikhs suffered a heavy loss but the battle of Chillianwallah fought on January 13, 1849 proved a bloody encounter in which the British were in a way defeated by the Sikhs. The losses on the British side were appalling and in about three hours' time hundreds of men and officers were killed. But the Sikhs did not follow up their advantage and at Gujrat (February 22) they were defeated. Multan was captured after a siege of nine months and Mool Raj made his surrender to the English. Lord Dalhousie dealt harshly with the hapless descendant of Ranjit Singh, the old and constant friend of the British power. He was deposed from the throne and in his father's Hall of Audience he was asked to sign away for himself and his heirs all further claim to the kingdom of the Punjab. A pension of £50,000 a year was granted to him and he was allowed to retain the title of Prince. Afterwards he went to England where he settled as an English gentleman and embraced Christianity. Mool Raj was tried for murder and condemned to death. The Punjab was annexed to the British dominion.

Administration of the Punjab.

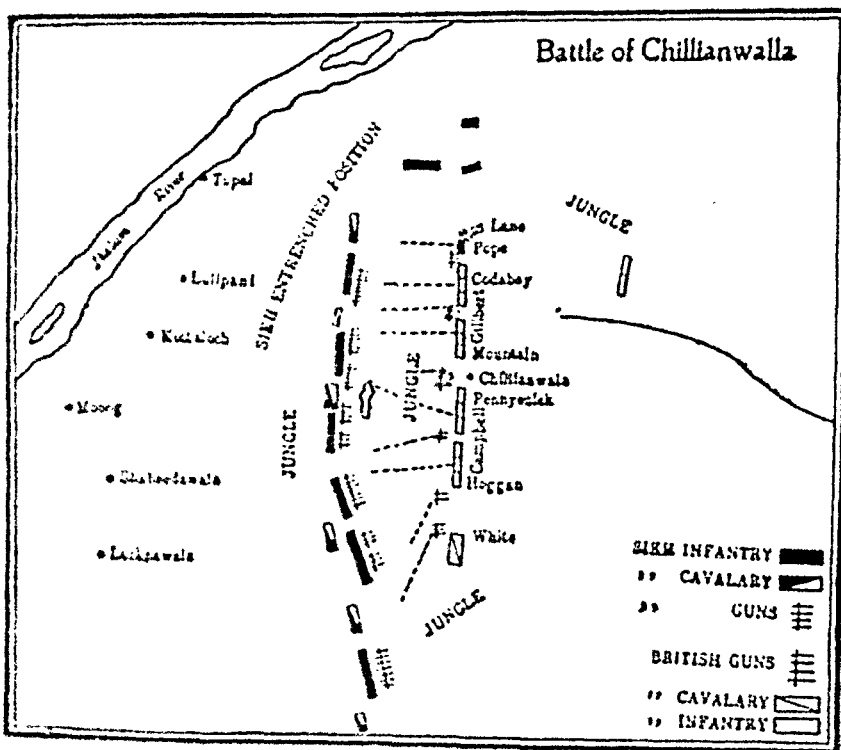
The Punjab was made a British province in spite of the protests of Sir Henry Lawrence who pleaded for a better treatment of Ranjit Singh's heir. But Lord Dalhousie was of the opinion that the safety of the British dominions required the suppression of the Sikhs. With his characteristic vigour he proceeded to organise the administration and formed a Board of three persons—Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother John Lawrence and Mansel, all officers in the Company's service. The Sikh nation was disarmed and the Sikh nobility was deprived of its lands and Jagirs. The system of civil and criminal justice was reformed and mutilation and torture were abolished. The land was surveyed and the rights of the peasantry were recorded with great care. The land tax was fixed on a just basis (one-fourth of the produce) and all other taxes were abolished with the exception of half a dozen. Canals were constructed and a system of state forests was introduced. Schools were started and attempts were made to introduce social reform among the Sikhs. A meeting was held at Amritsar in which the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims resolved to put an end to the horrible custom of infanticide and to reduce the expenses of weddings and betrothals. Slavery was abolished and Thuggee and Dacoity were put down.

Sir Henry Lawrence did not approve of the policy of the Governor-General and fell out of favour. In 1853 the Board was dissolved and the province was entrusted to John Lawrence who became the first Chief Commissioner of the Punjab which was now a Non-Regulation Province.

The Second Burmese War (1852).

The Second Burmese War was waged to protect the interests of the merchants who had settled on the southern coast of Burma after the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. The Governor of Rangoon molested them and hampered their trade. Being tired of these vexations they appealed to the Government at Calcutta for redress. The Governor-General

Battle of Chillianwalla



promptly demanded reparation and an indemnity of £100,000 but the Burmese court gave no reply. War was declared. Lord Dalhousie himself looked into every detail and took full precautions for the health and comfort of the troops. Martaban was captured and the pagoda of Rangoon was taken by storm. Prome was occupied, and after the capture of Pegu the war was closed by annexing Lower Burma to the British dominions (20th December, 1852). The whole coast-line of the Bay of Bengal from Cape Comorin to the Malay peninsula passed under British control.

Lord Dalhousie organised the administration of the new province with characteristic energy and vigour. Able officers were appointed who rooted out crime and taught the Burmese the value of honest labour. The prosperity of Burma increased: trade developed and Rangoon became a flourishing seaport.

Lord Dalhousie's frontier policy was a great success. The annexation of the Punjab, though it hurt the feelings of the Sikhs, safeguarded the British possessions against external attack. The acquisition of the sub-montane tract of Sikkim brought under the control of the English a vast tea-growing area with great possibilities of development. Finally, the creation of British Burma strengthened the eastern frontier and placed the rice and teak trade of the East in British hands.

Results of
Lord
Dalhousie's
Frontier
Policy.

LORD DALHOUSIE AND INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION

3-4-41
 Dalhousie
 and the
 British
 states.

Lord Dalhousie was a great imperialist who tried to extend the British dominions by 'peaceful invasions.' He had no sympathy with weak royalties and saw no advantage in allowing them to exist. He firmly believed that the British administration was a great blessing to the people and its benefits should be conferred upon them whether they liked it or not. He divided the Indian states into three classes:--

1. Independent states in regard to which the Government of India always tried to secure a suitable successor of the deceased monarch.
2. States which acknowledged the British as the paramount power in place of the Mughal Emperor or the Peshwa to whom they had been subordinate.
3. Dependent states which were the virtual creation of the British Government by gift or conquest and were subordinate to it.

Lord Dalhousie conceded the right of adoption in the first two cases but he held that in the states of the third class adoption should never be permitted. He laid down his famous doctrine of lapse by which in case of failure of natural heirs the territories of a Prince passed or lapsed to the sovereign power. All childless Hindus have a right to adopt sons to perform their funeral rites but Lord Dalhousie, who drew a distinction between the private property of a Prince and his principality, contended that the territories of a Prince could not pass to his adopted son.

without the consent of the paramount power. He did not want to perpetuate a vicious system which led to disorder and misgovernment. Some of the Company's officers were opposed to this policy on three grounds. First, that the dependent states were useful inasmuch as they afforded employment to the native nobility and kept in check daring men who might otherwise create disorder. Secondly, the Princes of India would be alarmed and think that the doctrine might not be applied to their states. Thirdly, the people of India preferred the rule of their own princes to that of the British Government and finally that such annexations were likely to cause general disaffection among the people.

Lord Dalhousie did not agree with these views. He resolved to apply the doctrine of lapse to dependent states. It was not easy to draw the line between the different kinds of states. In the case of Karauli the Governor-General was overruled by the Home Government. The impression created on the minds of the Princes was that the Governor-General was bent upon annexation and the extinction of all Indian states.

The state of Satara was annexed in 1818 after the death of the Appa Sahib. The Rani of Jhansi was persecuted and the son adopted by her husband was set aside in 1853. Nagpur lapsed a year later. The last Raja died without leaving an heir and the British Government refused to recognise the boy adopted by his widow. The Raja's jewels and furniture were sold by public auction to the utter disgust of the princes and people of India. It was an act of spoliation for which there was no excuse whatever.

The other states annexed by lapse were Jaitpur and Sambhalpore (1819), Baghat (1850) and Udaipur (1852) though in the case of the last two Lord Dalhousie's decision was reversed by his successor. The state of Karauli was

declared independent by the Directors and escaped annexation.

The principle of lapse was extended also to titles and dignities. The Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore were deprived of their titles but Lord Dalhousie's proposal to deprive the Mughal emperor of his title was turned down by the Directors. After the death of the Peshwa Baji Rao II in 1853, the pension of eight lakhs which he had enjoyed was discontinued and his adopted son Dhondu Pant better known as Nana Sahib was not recognised. The Bithur estate was given him rent-free but it must be admitted that the Governor-General's action was 'harsh and grasping.'

Annexation
of Oudh
(1856).

The doctrine of lapse was not applied to the state of Oudh. It was annexed because of misgovernment. The relations between Oudh and the British Government may be briefly stated. By the treaty of 1801 the British Government bound itself to defend the territories of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh against all foreign and domestic enemies and the Nawab engaged that he would establish in his dominion a sound system of administration and act in conformity with the advice of the East India Company. This subsidiary treaty contained in it all the evils of a divided government. Secure from external invasion and internal rebellion, the ruler became indifferent to good administration, while those who imposed this alliance on him did nothing to protect the people. The British Government only remonstrated with the Nawabs and asked them to improve the administration. In 1831 Lord William Bentinck reminded the Nawab of the fate of Carnatic and Tanjore and added that if there was no change for the better, he would be made a pensioner of the company. Lord Auckland made a new treaty with the Nawab in 1837 by which he was told that if the administration did not improve, the British Government would appoint

its own officers to manage the mis-governed territories as long as it was necessary to do so. The Court of Directors refused to ratify the treaty but this fact was never communicated to the Nawab. He thought that the treaty was in existence and the worst that could happen was the taking over of the administration for a short period. In 1847 Lord Hardinge in writing to the King of Oudh referred to the treaty of 1837 as if it were still in force. A period of two years was fixed for the removal of abuses but there was no change for the better. Colonel Sleeman, the British Resident at Lucknow, was asked to submit a report on the condition of Oudh (1851). He spoke of the plundering raids of Taluqdars, the indiscipline and inefficiency of the troops, the corruption of officers and the misery of the cultivators. He went on to add that the king was immersed in pleasure and wasted his time in the company of singers, fiddlers, buffoons and eunuchs. In 1854 at last Lord Dalhousie was compelled to take action, and he asked Colonel Outram to report on the state of the country. The latter expressed the same view as Sleeman. In an able minute the Governor-General himself surveyed (1855) the condition of Oudh and dwelt upon the abuses, which in his opinion, cried aloud for redress. He declared the treaty of 1837 null and void and decided in favour of annexation. He disregarded the fact that the Nawabs of Oudh had been faithful allies of the British and wrote to Outram to ask the king to sign the treaty of annexation. Naturally Wajid Ali Shah, the reigning Nawab, refused to sign a treaty which deprived him of his ancestral kingdom and reduced him to the status of a pensioner of the East India Company on twelve lakhs a year. In spite of the misdeeds of the officers of the Nawabi, says a European writer, if the people of Oudh had been asked to make a choice between the Nawabi and the new administration they would have preferred the former.

The annexation of Oudh is open to serious criticism. It was effected in violation of the treaty of 1837 which according to the Nawab was still in force. It was unfair on the part of Lord Dalhousie to hold the treaty as null and void when his predecessors had acted on it. The Nawab and his ancestors had been faithful allies of the British and the treatment which was meted out to him is hard to justify. A great uneasiness was created in the minds of the Indian rulers who feared the loss of their titles and kingdoms. The people of Oudh were dissatisfied with the measure and when the mutiny broke out a year later, they disapproved of the policy of annexation by taking up arms against the British.

The Charter
Act of
1853.

The Company's Charter was renewed again in 1853 and certain important changes were made in its constitution and government. The Company was continued although it had ceased to be a commercial body. The Directors were reduced from 24 to 18 and of these six were to be nominated by the Crown. Many of their powers were transferred to the Board of Control. The patronage of the Directors was curtailed and an open competitive examination for the recruitment of Indian Civil Service was introduced. The Law Member appointed in 1853 was made a regular member of the Governor-General's Council and the Legislative Council was enlarged. The Governor-General was relieved of his functions as Governor of Bengal and a separate Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for the province.

Internal
Reforms.

Lord Dalhousie introduced many reforms in the administration. The provinces annexed to the British dominions were treated as Non-Regulation Provinces. Their administration was different from the older provinces. Great discretion was allowed to the men on the spot. His military reforms greatly improved the tone and discipline of the Company's troops and did much to promote the health and comfort of soldiers. He raised a regiment of Gurkhas and

Sikhs and suggested an increase in the European force. Being a Scotchman he carefully managed the finances and turned a deficit into a surplus. He began the practice of borrowing money for useful public works. During his term the total revenue of India rose from $24\frac{1}{2}$ millions to over $30\frac{3}{4}$ millions. The work of internal consolidation went on apace and Lord Dalhousie bound the different parts of India by bands of iron. He opened the first Railway and constructed the telegraph system. These have greatly strengthened the defence of the country and helped the growth and development of Commerce. He created a Public Works Department and introduced the Half Penny Post which proved a great blessing to the people of India. He encouraged Vernacular education and recommended that the system of Mr. Thomason should be extended over the whole of the N.W. Provinces. In 1854 Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) wrote his famous despatch which laid the foundations of modern Vernacular education.

The new forces that were set in motion by Lord Dalhousie changed the old conditions. The Railway and the Telegraph brought the peoples of various races and provinces together and supplied new bonds of union. Indeed it was he who created the India of to-day. But there was one defect in his work. He had little regard for the feelings, prejudices and customs of the Indian princes and his numerous minutes show that he was desirous of substituting the British for Indian administration wherever he could. He did not care for the advice of his subordinates and seemed to think that he could do everything himself. This produced serious results after his departure. No one will deny his great powers of work and his devotion to duty. He was inspired by a lofty ideal of public service and excelled all his contemporaries in the spirit of sacrifice. His Indian work completely shattered his health, and when he embarked on his homeward voyage in

Lord
Dalhousie's
achievement

March, 1856, he was a broken man, an object of sympathy and admiration. Four years later he died and was buried by the side of his noble wife in the ancient cemetery of the Dalhousies where his loving daughter put the following modest inscription on the obelisk:—

They rest from their labours
And their works do follow them.

Chronological Summary

Lord Dalhousie's appointment	...	...	1848
Annexation of Satara	...	...	1848
Annexation of Jaitpur and Sambhalpore	...	...	1849
Annexation of Baghat	...	...	1850
Annexation of Udaipur	...	...	1852
New Charter of the Company	...	...	1853
Death of Baji Rao II	...	...	1853
Nana Sahib's pension stopped	...	...	1853
Sir Charles Wood's Report	...	...	1854
Annexation of Oudh	...	...	1856
Retirement of Lord Dalhousie	...	...	1856

THE REVOLT OF 1857 AND THE END OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Lord Canning succeeded Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General of India in February, 1856. He was the last Governor-General under the East India Company and his regime marks a turning point in the history of our country. He was a capable and conscientious administrator and was modest in his ambitions. He had acquired a reputation for scholarship at Oxford and had gained experience of administrative work as Post Master General. But he came to India at a time when the whole country was seething with discontent. At the farewell dinner given to him by the Court of Directors he used words which foreshadowed the future.



Lord Canning.

"I wish for a peaceful term of office; but I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no bigger than a man's hand, but which growing larger and larger may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with rain."

These words proved true soon after his arrival. Lord Canning was confronted with a crisis which seemed at one time to annihilate the power of the British in India. This was the Great Revolt of 1857.

Causes of
the Revolt.

Opinions have differed about the origin of the Revolt of 1857. Some say that it was a mere military rising, while others maintain that it was the result of a conspiracy to overthrow the British power, and the greased cartridges only precipitated the crisis. The correct view is that the revolt was military in origin but derived great strength from the discontent that had spread in the country as the result of Lord Dalhousie's forward policy. Its causes may be summarised under three heads—political, social and military.

Political.

Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation had caused much uneasiness in the Indian mind. The King of Oudh had submitted without resistance but there was much discontent in his kingdom. There is no evidence to show that he directly or indirectly aided the rebellion. But the Taluqdars who flourished under a weak government were greatly dissatisfied. The Nawab's army was disbanded and the soldiers were deprived of their livelihood. The Mughal emperor, though a pensioner of the East India Company, still lived at Delhi and held his court but his successor was to be recognised only on the condition that he surrendered the title of King and left Delhi. The annexation of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi deeply hurt the feelings of those who were dispossessed. The Marathas were still sullen and discontented. In the South Maratha Country the Inam Commission which enquired into the titles and tenures of landholders caused much dissatisfaction. The last Peshwa's heir Nana Sahib was bitterly hostile to the Government and his agents had tried to foment intrigue in Upper India.

Social.

The land settlements had put the old families to great loss. They were excluded from high offices and their places,

were taken by European officers. The changes introduced by Lord Dalhousie gave a rude shock to Hindu beliefs and customs. The Railway and the Telegraph were looked upon as the work of the devil intended to defile religion and caste alike. Public education was considered a device to Christianise the population. The reason for such alarm was the religious zeal of missionaries and some of the officers of the Government who deplored the social practices of the Hindus and exhorted them to accept the truth of the Bible. These suspicions were confirmed by the attempts to put down Sati, infanticide, polygamy and the legalising of widow remarriage. The contact of old-world ideas and beliefs with western science and materialism threatened the social order with ruin and produced a wave of unrest which swept over the whole country. The Muslims were equally dissatisfied. The loss of political power was keenly felt by them and the suppression of the royal houses of Delhi and Oudh added greatly to their bitterness. Religious fanatics were not slow to incite the faithful to obtain redress of their wrongs.

There was a great disproportion between the Indian and Military European troops. The officers no longer treated their men with consideration. The new English officer cared to know nothing about the grey-haired Subedar who served under him. The Bengal army which consisted of Brahmanas and Rajputs was proud of its record and claimed special privileges. Cases of indiscipline had occurred from time to time but they had been strictly dealt with. An Act was passed in 1856 which paid no regard to the caste scruples of the Sepoys and compelled them to serve wherever they were sent. Although the new rule was to apply to future cases, the soldiers felt aggrieved at the exclusion of their sons from the military profession which was hereditary in their families. Besides these causes, the exclusion of Indians from the military service caused discontent in the army and alienated the sympathy

of soldiers. Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Henry Lawrence had both pointed out the dangers of such a policy but their advice was disregarded.

The actual
outbreak.

The cartridge incident was but a spark to the conflagration. Just at this time a new rifle called the Enfield rifle was given to the sepoys. A rumour spread that the cartridges to be used with it were to be greased with the fat of cows and pigs, offensive both to Hindus and Muslims. One day at Dum Dum a Khalasi asked a high caste Brahmana soldier for a drink of water from his *lotah* but he refused on the ground of caste. The offended khalasi told the Brahmana that all castes would soon be alike as the cartridges smeared with the fat of cows and pigs were going to be used in the army. It is true that animal fat had been used in preparing these cartridges. The story spread like wildfire and travelled from one military station to another. The soldiers thought that the Government wanted to defile their religion. Lord Canning forthwith issued a proclamation in which he pointed out the falsehood of the rumour and tried to calm the public mind but in vain. The Bengal army was excited. A mutiny occurred at Barrackpore but it was quickly put down. But in April at Meerut (U.P.) soldiers refused to obey their officers and to use the greased cartridges. They were publicly disgraced and sent to jail. On Sunday, the 10th of May, three Indian regiments shot down their officers, broke open the jails and set at liberty their fellow soldiers. Then they marched towards Delhi. This was the beginning of the great Revolt of 1857. The rebels were joined at Delhi by large numbers of discontented men and in a few hours the city passed into their hands. They entered the palace and declared Bahadur Shah, the old Mughal king of Delhi, emperor of India. The revolt quickly spread in Rohilkhand and many parts of Central India. The Indian soldiers at Bareilly, Lucknow, Benares and Cawnpore broke

out into open rebellion against the British. In Bundelkhand the Rani of Jhansi placed herself at the head of the rebels and massacred the Europeans. At Cawnpore Nana Sahib assumed the leadership of the mutineers and directed them to besiege the British garrison. The Residency at Lucknow was also besieged and was heroically defended by Sir Henry Lawrence. Delhi became the rallying centre of the rebels and from all parts of the country they began to gravitate towards it.

The capture of Delhi was a matter of great importance. ^{Siege of Delhi.} The rebels occupied the Ridge and maintained their position with great difficulty against the enemy who numbered 30,000. When Nicholson came from the Punjab with reinforcements, the Kashmir gate was blown up and after six days' desperate fighting the city was captured by storm. Bahadur Shah was captured along with his two sons who were shot dead by a British soldier without any enquiry into their guilt. The emperor was tried (January, 1858) and found guilty of aiding the rebels. He was sent to Rangoon where he died in 1862 at the age of 87.

At Cawnpore the Europeans held out for three weeks ^{Cawnpore.} with great courage and endurance. In June Neill occupied the fort of Allahabad and a little later he was joined by Havelock and both marched to the relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow. Before Havelock could reach Cawnpore the garrison had surrendered to the Nana on promise of their lives being spared. As they embarked on boats to cross the Ganges on their way to Allahabad they were fired at by Nana's men and killed. Those that remained were thrown into a well at Cawnpore. It was an act of inhumanity for which even the niggardly treatment meted out to the Nana was no excuse.

At Lucknow the flames of rebellion blazed more fierce ^{Lucknow.} ly than in other places. Sir Henry Lawrence defended the

Residency with great courage but he was killed. Havelock speedily marched towards Lucknow with General Outram and defeated the rebels in three more battles before entering the town. But they were themselves besieged by the mutineers. Reinforcements came under Sir Colin Campbell (November) but Havelock died of the strain of ceaseless fighting. Leaving Outram in charge of Lucknow, Campbell returned to Cawnpore where he defeated the Maratha leader Tantia Tope at the head of 20,000 men. Then he turned towards Lucknow and captured the city (March). Two months later Campbell marched upon Bareilly where the rebels were scattered and order was restored.

Central
India.

The suppression of the revolt in Bundelkhand and Central India was a difficult task. Sir Hugh Rose laid siege to Jhansi and captured the fort by defeating an army led by Tantia Tope. The brave Rani of Jhansi, Lakshmi Bai, and Tantia Tope attacked Gwalior and drove Sindhia to take shelter in Agra. Gwalior was occupied by the rebels and Nana was proclaimed as Peshwa. Sindhia's able and astute minister, Dinkar Rao saved him from joining the ranks of the disaffected. Sir Hugh Rose advanced upon Gwalior and defeated the rebels in two battles. The gallant Rani, dressed like a male, died fighting to the last and her soldierly bearing extorted admiration even from Sir Hugh Rose who spoke of her as the bravest and most capable of the rebel leaders. Tantia Tope wandered in Malwa, Bundelkhand and Rajputana for sometime but he was at last betrayed into the hands of the British by a jagirdar of Gwalior (April, 1859) and was hanged.

Canning's
wise policy.

The revolt was suppressed with great vigour but amidst the noisy clamours of Europeans who thirsted for indiscriminate vengeance Lord Canning kept his head cool and followed a policy that was just, wise and humane. His opponents nicknamed him 'Clemency Canning' but he con-

tinued to show his confidence in Indians by employing them in the service of the state. He told his critics plainly that he could not adopt a policy which confused the innocent with the guilty and held every Hindu and Mohammadan guilty of acts of rebellion.

The Revolt, though widespread, was not universal. On the north-west the Afghans were quiet. The Sikhs and Gurkhas helped the British. The chief cause of the failure of the Revolt is that there was no national feeling behind it. The rebels were not well-organised and except the Rani of Jhansi they had no capable leader among them. They had no common aim. The Muslims tried to revive the Mughal empire while the Hindus desired to establish their ascendancy under the Nana. The Indian Princes were on the side of the British. The Sindhia, the Holker, the Nizami, and the Rajput Princes all gave help in quelling the revolt. The British officers who dealt with the crisis were highly capable men and were ever ready to risk their lives in their country's cause. What helped the British most was Lord Canning's policy of patience and forbearance which made a just impression upon the public mind and made it easy for him to pacify the country.

Failure of
the Revolt.

The Revolt sealed the fate of the East India Company. Its charter was not renewed and the government of India was finally taken over by the Crown. By the Act for the better Government of India passed in 1858 the Crown assumed the direct responsibility for the government of India and the place of the Board of Control was taken by a Secretary of State for India assisted by a Council of 15 called the India Council, seven members of which were nominated by the Court of Directors. The Governor-General was made the Viceroy of India. The end of the Company marks the end of the dual Government in India. The Company had served the English interests well. It founded for England a great

End of the
Company.

dominion in the east but it did little to develop the industries and resources of the country for the benefit of her people.

The Queen's
Proclamation

To assure the public mind Lord Canning read in a Durbar at Allahabad on November 1, 1858, the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria written in a language 'breathing feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration.' It guaranteed the treaties and engagements entered into between the Company and the Indian Princes and



Queen Victoria.

recognised the right of adoption of the latter. It threw open public employment to all subjects of the Queen without distinction of caste, colour or creed and promised complete neutrality in religious matters. Amnesty was granted to all who were not implicated in the murder of British subjects.

This Proclamation is looked upon by the people of India as the Magna Charta of their liberties.*

Indian Society and Culture

The year 1858 marks the close of a distinct epoch in Social Indian history. The fall of the Mughal empire and the advent of the Europeans brought about a great change in Indian society. The loss of political power weakened the Muslim section and in many of the states that arose on the ruins of the Mughal empire there was little attempt at introducing political or economic reforms. For a long period there was disorder throughout the country and the people suffered as much from the Pindari freebooter and the Thug as from the neglect of imbecile rulers. The proprietors of the East India Company were chiefly concerned with the profits of their trade and paid little attention to education or social improvement. The Indian nobles were deprived of their titles and lands and many of them were forced to seek employment in the states or to live a life of poverty and discontent. The land settlements weighed heavily upon them and caused much bitterness. The Civil Courts paid no special regard to the interests of the landed classes and their decrees turned ancient proprietors into farmers.

Caste was powerful among the Hindus and men of the highest castes saw nothing wrong in Sati, infanticide and child-marriage. The influence of Brahmanism made itself felt in every grade of society and determined men's habits and ways of thought. Sea-voyage was still abhorred and western literature and Science were to many a sealed book. Even in 1856 a scheme of popular education was considered a device to christianise the population. The Muslim theologians were equally alarmed by the new learning and offered much opposition to the spirit of progress.

*For the Proclamation see Appendix : A

Economy

The economic condition of the people did not improve under the East India Company. The arts and crafts declined for lack of patronage. The silk manufactures and piece goods made of silk and cotton were excluded from the foreign markets by high duties and the independent manufacturer gradually ceased to be a producer. Famines were frequent and though government tried to give relief, the people suffered much. Every year large sums of money were sent to the Directors of the company to pay dividend and interest. The standard of living of the common people was not very high. Thomas Munro says that the wages of an agricultural labourer in his time was between 4s. and 6s. a month and the cost of subsistence was between 18s. and 27s. per annum. The reforms of Lord Dalhousie did much to improve the condition of Indian trade and to promote the prosperity of the people.

Art and Literature.

The fall of the Mughal empire gave a great blow to the progress of fine arts. The artists sought refuge at provincial courts and received their patronage. The Indian architect and mason engaged themselves in building ghats and temples for the Hindu masters and expressed their religious emotions in brick and stone. The Public Works Department of the British Government failed to construct buildings which can be called works of art. Painting also declined. The Court painters of Delhi migrated to Haiderabad or Oudh and many of them settled in Behar and Bengal. The Rajput or Hindu *qalam* depicted scenes from the sacred books of the Hindus or the life of the common people and its chief centre was Jaipur. Kangra developed a school of its own called the Pahari school which acquired much vogue in Tehri and the Central Indian states. At the Sikh court there were several painters; the most famous of whom was Kapoor Singh. With the annexation of the Punjab the court painters lost their occupation and the art rapidly declined.

In the Deccan painting flourished at the courts of Haiderabad and Tanjore. The Tanjore artists did beautiful carving on ivory and wood.

Music like the other fine arts found its patrons among the Hindu Princes. Several treaties on music were compiled and Europeans like Sir William Jones much appreciated the sweetness of Indian cadences.

In the eighteenth century learning and literature also declined. The Universities were not established in India until 1857 and English education was yet in its infancy. Persian was still cultivated at places like Haiderabad, Lucknow, Murshedabad, Delhi and Jaunpur and political business was done through the medium of Persian. Some books were written in Hindi and the earliest efforts were those of the Serampore missionaries. At the Fort William College Hindi received encouragement from Gilchrist and the result was Laloolalji's *Prem Sagar*.

Urdu poetry made rapid progress under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors. Khwaja Mir Dard, Mir Hasan, Sauda and Mir were the most famous poets of the time. Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal emperor, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Zafar, was himself a good poet. The Nawabs of Oudh were much interested in Urdu poetry and the last of them Wajid Ali Shah was a poet of considerable merit. Nasir of Agra, like Sadi of Shiraz was a moralist and teacher and his poems breathe a spirit of peace and good will towards all. The Delhi school revived again in the nineteenth century and Ghālib and Zauq enthralled the world by their charming verses. The former wrote high class poetry both in Persian and Urdu and the latter excelled in composing qasidās and ghazals. The first attempts in Urdu prose were made at Fort William, but from 1835 when Urdu became the Court language its progress was rapid.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

(1) Reconstruction after the Mutiny

The Constitutional changes.

The Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The place of the Court of Directors, as has been said before, was taken by a Council of fifteen members of whom eight were to be appointed by the Crown and seven to be elected by the Directors. The members of the Council were to hold office during good behaviour and could be dismissed only by a petition from both Houses of Parliament. The Council could give its opinion only on matters referred to it for opinion by the Secretary of State who was to preside over its meetings and could overrule its decisions. The Government of India also underwent a change. By the Indian Council Act of 1861 the Governor-General's Council consisted of (1) five ordinary members three of whom must have served in India; (2) a barrister or member of the Faculty of Advocates of Scotland; (3) and a financial expert. The Commander-in-Chief was to be an extraordinary member of the Council. The Governor-General was empowered to make for the more convenient transaction of business and introduced the portfolio system. Each member was placed in charge of a department and was responsible to the Governor-General. This arrangement made it possible for the Council to do business with efficiency and despatch. The members of the Council were officials and were responsible to Parliament and not to the people of India.

For purposes of legislation the Governor-General was empowered to add additional members not less than six and

not more than twelve in number. Of these not less than one half were to be non-officials. Soon after the Mutiny some Indian members were also nominated to the Legislative Council to assist in legislation. These were the Maharaja of Patiala the Raja of Benares and Sir Dinkar Rao, the well-known minister of Gwalior who had kept the Sindhia on the side of the British during the Mutiny of 1857.

The power of making laws was also restored to the Councils of Bombay, Madras and Bengal and was afterwards extended to other provinces.

The Mutiny had thrown the finances of the country into Finance. a state of disorder. In 1859 James Wilson, a financial expert and economist, came out from England to reorganise the finances. He introduced the practice of framing budgets. He proposed three new taxes—an income-tax on all incomes above Rs. 500, a license duty on trades and professions and a tax on tobacco grown in India. A general duty of 10 per cent was levied on most imported articles and a duty of 4 per cent on many articles exported from the country. The salt duties were raised and drastic economies were suggested both in the civil and military departments. Wilson died after eight months but his work was carried on by Mr. Samuel Lang, the new finance member, who reduced the military expenditure and effected surplus in the budget.

In 1861 the strength of the British garrison was reduced to 76,000 men and that of the Indian army to 120,000. The Military Reform. Indian army was abolished; its officers were pensioned off and the sailors were either disbanded or admitted into the Royal Navy.

In 1857 the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Education. Madras were established on the model of the London University and efforts were made to push forward primary, secondary and technical education. Several newspapers were edited by Indians and were ably conducted. The demand

for books was on the increase and in 1857 in Calcutta alone about 300 books were brought out for sale.

Judicial
Reform.

By the Indian High Courts Act passed in 1861 the old Supreme and Sadr Adalat Courts were abolished and High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In 1866 a High Court was established at Allahabad. The judges were appointed by the Crown and held office during His Majesty's pleasure.

The laws were revised. In 1860 the draft of the Indian Penal Code as revised by Sir Barnes Peacock was passed and a year later it was followed by the Criminal Procedure Code for courts other than those in Presidency towns. A Civil Procedure Code was also passed and was extended to the High Courts in 1862.

The Tenancy
Law in
Bengal.

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal had benefited the landlords at the expense of the ryot. He was liable to be evicted and his rents could be enhanced without sufficient grounds. In 1859 the Bengal Rent Act was passed by which all cultivators who had possessed certain holdings for more than twelve years were declared occupancy tenants, and their rents could be enhanced only on certain grounds mentioned in the Act. The tenants were given some relief but litigation increased and led to much waste of money.

Works of
Public
Utility.

In 1862 the East Indian Railway was opened as far as Allahabad and trains were running over the G.I.P. Railway from Bombay over a distance of 400 miles. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar was completed and hundreds of miles of metalled roads were constructed in various parts of the country. Canals were also constructed and steps were taken to guard the forests against fire and waste and the cultivation of tea, indigo, and cinchona was encouraged.

The municipal arrangements were still very unsatisfactory. Even the largest towns had no regular supply of

sweet water and in some parts of Calcutta the streets were still watered by *bhishties* or water carriers. The people at large were always ready to contribute funds towards the building of a tank, temple or well for purely charitable purposes.

Lady Canning died in November, 1861, and her death hastened the departure of her husband from India. During his term of office he had passed through a great ordeal but he had come out of it unscathed. He managed an awful crisis with firmness, wisdom and patience and never allowed himself to be lashed into fury by the reproaches of his revengeful countrymen. No one has ever doubted his sincerity, devotion to duty and his strong sense of justice. His clemency, so much condemned at the time, saved the Indian empire from ruin and his administrative reform prepared the way for the achievements of his successors. He was succeeded by Lord Elgin who died at Dharmasala in the Punjab after a year of his appointment.

Lord
Canning's
resignation.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
Foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras	1857
The Bengal Rent Act	1859
The Indian High Courts Act	1861
Death of Lady Canning	1861
High Court at Allahabad	1864

(2) The Frontiers—Afghanistan and Burma

(1862—99)

Afghanistan
after Dost
Muham-
mad's
death.

After the first Afghan War Dost Muhammad was recognised as Amir and between him and the British Government friendly relations existed till the mutiny. In 1863 Dost Muhammad died at the age of 80. He had nominated his son, Sher Ali, as his successor but throne was disputed by twelve of his sixteen sons. Lord Lawrence who was appointed as Viceroy in 1864 adopted the policy of masterly inactivity, and when the Afghan Princes asked for help, he replied that the British Government would recognise the man who would establish himself as Amir at Kabul. This attitude produced on Sher Ali the impression that the English cared only for their interest. After a long fratricidal war Sher Ali succeeded in slaying or driving away all his rivals and became master of Afghanistan in 1868.

Meanwhile the Russians had been advancing towards the northern Afghan frontier. They had humbled Bokhara and a year later formed the province of Russian Turkestan. In 1868 they seized Samarqand and brought it under their sway. They were coming nearer to Afghanistan and desired to secure in Turkestan a military position strong enough to frighten England by threatening intervention in Indian affairs. Lord Lawrence realised that his policy was inadequate but he refused to take action.

His successor Lord Mayo (1869—72) met the Amir at Ambala in 1869. The latter was much impressed by the Viceroy's personal charm and geniality. He asked for a definite policy, an annual subsidy and help in men and money when required, and the recognition of his son Abdulla Jan as his heir instead of his eldest son Yakub Khan. Lord Mayo sent him a letter in which he promised support and informed him that the British Government 'should view with severe

displeasure any attempt to oust him from the throne.' In 1873 when the Khanates of the Oxus were abolished by Russia, the Amir made another attempt to enter into friendly relations with the British Government. He sent an envoy to Lord Northbrook (1872—76), Lord Mayo's successor, and asked for help. But the Governor-General seriously offended him by rebuking him for preferring Abdulla Jan to Yakub Khan. Sher Ali turned to Russia for help. The Government of England suggested to Lord Northbrook that the Amir should be asked to admit a British Resident in his country. Lord Northbrook disagreed with this view and replied that Sher Ali would strongly oppose a proposal of this kind. But Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary, persisted in his view and the Viceroy resigned (1876). Before leaving India, he informed Lord Salisbury that the policy suggested by him would surely lead to war with Afghanistan.

The next Viceroy Lord Lytton (1876—80) was a champion of the forward policy. He asked Sher Ali to receive a mission but he refused to do so. In 1876 war broke out between Russia and Turkey in Europe, England tried to check Russian interference in Turkish affairs. The Russians forced an envoy on the Amir and compelled him to make a treaty with them. Lord Lytton again pressed his demand that a British Resident should be admitted but no reply was received owing to the death of Abdulla Jan on the day the letter reached Kabul. The war in Europe was ended by the treaty of Berlin (1878) but Lord Lytton did not give up his idea of establishing British influence at Kabul.

Neville Chamberlain was sent as envoy from Peshawar but he was not allowed to enter the Khaibar Pass. Lord Lytton took this as an affront and declared war on the 21st November, 1878.

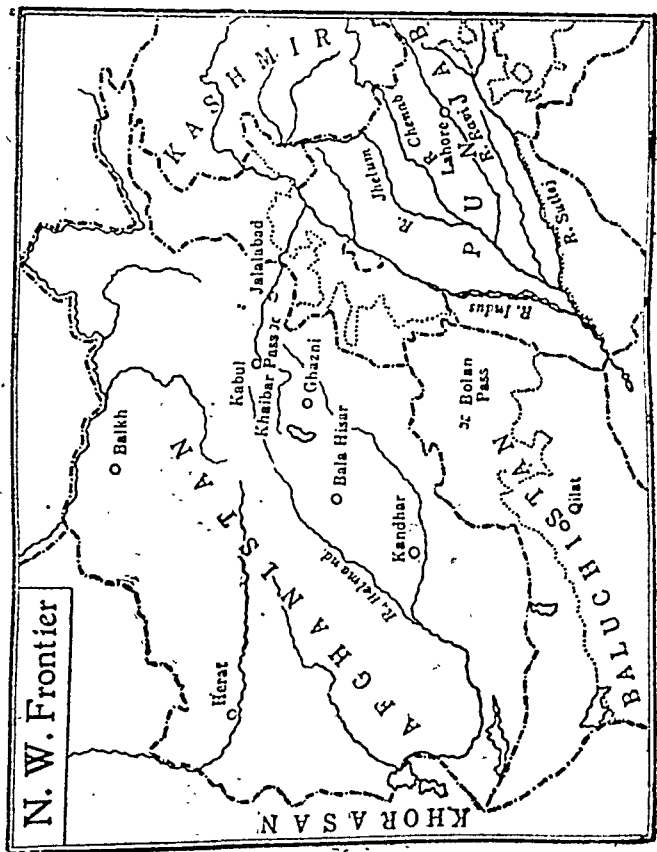
The British armies entered the three great passes of The Second Afghanistan—Sir Samuel Browne through the Khaibar, Lord Afghan war

Roberts through the Kurram valley and Stewart marched from Quetta through the Bolan Pass upon Qandhar. The Afghans offered no opposition. Sher Ali fled into Russian Turkestan from where he vainly appealed to Russia for help. He died at Mazar Sherif in February, 1879.

In May a treaty was made with Sher Ali's son Yakub Khan at Gandmak by which he was recognised as Amir and his foreign policy was to be controlled by the Government of India. He was asked to accept a Resident at Kabul and to transfer the Kurram Pass to British control. The British, on their part, agreed to pay him an annual subsidy of 6 lakhs and to withdraw all the troops from Afghanistan. Lord Lytton regarded the treaty of Gandmak as a personal triumph.

But he was sadly mistaken. The Afghans have no respect for a power which is backed by foreign arms. Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Resident, was murdered with all his escort. General Roberts entered Kabul and punished the miscreants. Yakub joined the English camp and declared that he would rather be a grass-cutter than the king of Afghanistan. He was sent as a pensioner to India where he lived until his death in 1923. Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Dost Muhammad, who had been an exile since 1870, was encouraged to establish himself as Amir of Kabul. Meanwhile owing to the defeat of his party in England Lord Lytton resigned office in 1880 and was succeeded by Lord Ripon (1880—84).

Lord Lytton's vigorous policy was a failure and his successor was asked to settle the Afghan affair in a peaceful manner. He recognised Abdur Rahman as Amir of Kabul (1881) and secured control of his foreign relations. But Abdur Rahman was not yet master of the whole of Afghanistan. Herat was still under Yakub Khan, a son of Sher Ali, and Qandhar was in the hands of another chieftain.



War broke out again and Ayub Khan inflicted a crushing defeat at Maiwand and from there he marched on Qandhar. General Roberts was sent again. Ayub Khan was defeated in the battle of Qandhar and after a few months Kabul and Qandhar were evacuated by British troops. He was defeated again by Abdur Rahman who was left secure in the possession of the whole of Afghanistan. The chief of Qandhar was persuaded to abdicate and was sent to India. The Second Afghan war, thus, came to an end.

The chief question which engaged the attention of Lord Dufferin (1884—88), the new Viceroy, was the demarcation of the Russian and Afghan boundaries. Both Russians and Afghans tried to occupy as much land in dispute as possible. The Russians occupied Merv, an oasis lying some hundred and fifty miles south-west of the Oxus, which marks an important stage on the way to Herat. The Russians established their influence over the chiefs of Merv. A protest was made but it was unheeded by them. Then they advanced towards Panjdeh, a village south of Merv, which was occupied by Afghan troops and was in the territory. The Afghans asked the Russians to withdraw but they were attacked and driven away from the place. War seemed imminent between England and Russia and the situation became critical.

The Panjdeh incident.

Lord Dufferin's tact and Abdur Rahman's commonsense did much to avert a crisis. The Amir who fully grasped the trend of events declared that he was not sure whether Panjdeh belonged to him and agreed to give it up for another pass. The Russians retired from Panjdeh and a boundary commission was appointed to define the northern boundary of Afghanistan.

The Amir was much pleased by Lord Dufferin's pleasing manners but he was as firm as Sher Ali in opposing the entry of the British troops into his country. The Rawalpindi Conference of 1885 made a good impression upon the Amir

and strengthened the friendship between him and the British Government.

But coolness and distrust soon took the place of friendliness. The difficulty arose over the frontier problem. The Sindh frontier had well been brought under control. It was closely guarded and no tribesman allowed to enter the British territory without a pass. Friendly relations were established between the British Government and the Beluchi chiefs who had much influence with the tribes. But this was not so with the Punjab frontier. In 1893 Durand conciliated the Amir by drawing the boundary line between Afghanistan and India. A treaty was made with him by which he engaged not to interfere with the frontier tribes on the Indian side of the line and gave up his claims to the railway station at Chaman. The Government of India increased the Amir's subsidy from 12 to 18 lakhs.

Chitral
affair.

In 1894 Lord Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin II. Trouble broke out in Chitral, a little hill state to the south of the Hindukush, which had been brought under British influence by the Durand agreement of 1893--When the Mehtar of Chitral was murdered in 1895 at the instigation of a former chief, the British Agent marched to deal with the rebels but he was besieged in the capital. The British troops relieved Chitral and a military road from Chitral to the British frontier was constructed and strongly garrisoned. The Chitral affair caused much stir in the tribal country and there were several serious outbreaks. The Amir as well as the tribal chiefs suspected the motives of the British Government. In 1897 the Mohmands raided the British territory up to Peshawar and the Afridis also rose in revolt near the Khaibar Pass. They were put down after a serious fighting in 1898.

Tirah
Campaign.

Another campaign which deserves to be mentioned was in the Tirah valley (1898) south-west of Peshawar when the Afridis rose up in arms against the British Government. They

were overpowered after a stubborn fight and when they were threatened with a second attack they made their submission.

After the first Burmese war Arakan and Tenasserim had been annexed to the British dominions and in 1852 Lord Dalhousie had extended the sphere of influence by the conquest of Pegu. Upper Burma still remained independent. The Burmese hampered the progress of British trade and Thebaw who had become king of Burma in 1879 imposed a heavy fine on a British trading Company and rejected the proposal of the Indian Government that the matter should be referred to a special British Commissioner. Besides he had begun to negotiate trade relations with Germany, Italy, and France and received a French envoy at his court. He was asked to accept a British Resident, to leave the company alone and to stop relations with foreign countries and this high-handed demand was backed by collecting 10,000 men at Rangoon. Thebaw rejected the British demands whereupon war was declared. The Burmese were overpowered after a feeble resistance and Thebaw surrendered himself as a prisoner into the hands of the English. Lord Dufferin himself proceeded to Mandalay and on January 1, 1886, a proclamation was issued by which Upper Burma was annexed to the British dominions. The task of pacifying the country was more difficult than its conquest. Bands of armed dacoits harassed the land and struggled with British officers for two years. At last peace was restored by military operations and in 1897 the Upper and Lower Burma were united and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. In 1922 Burma became a province with a Governor like the other provinces of India.

The policy of the Indian Government in regard to Burma cannot be justified. Thebaw may have been a cruel despot but he was an independent ruler who had a perfect right to negotiate relations with any foreign power. The occupation

The Conquest
of Upper
Burma.

of Upper Burma brought the Indian Government into closer contact with China and modified its diplomatic relations.

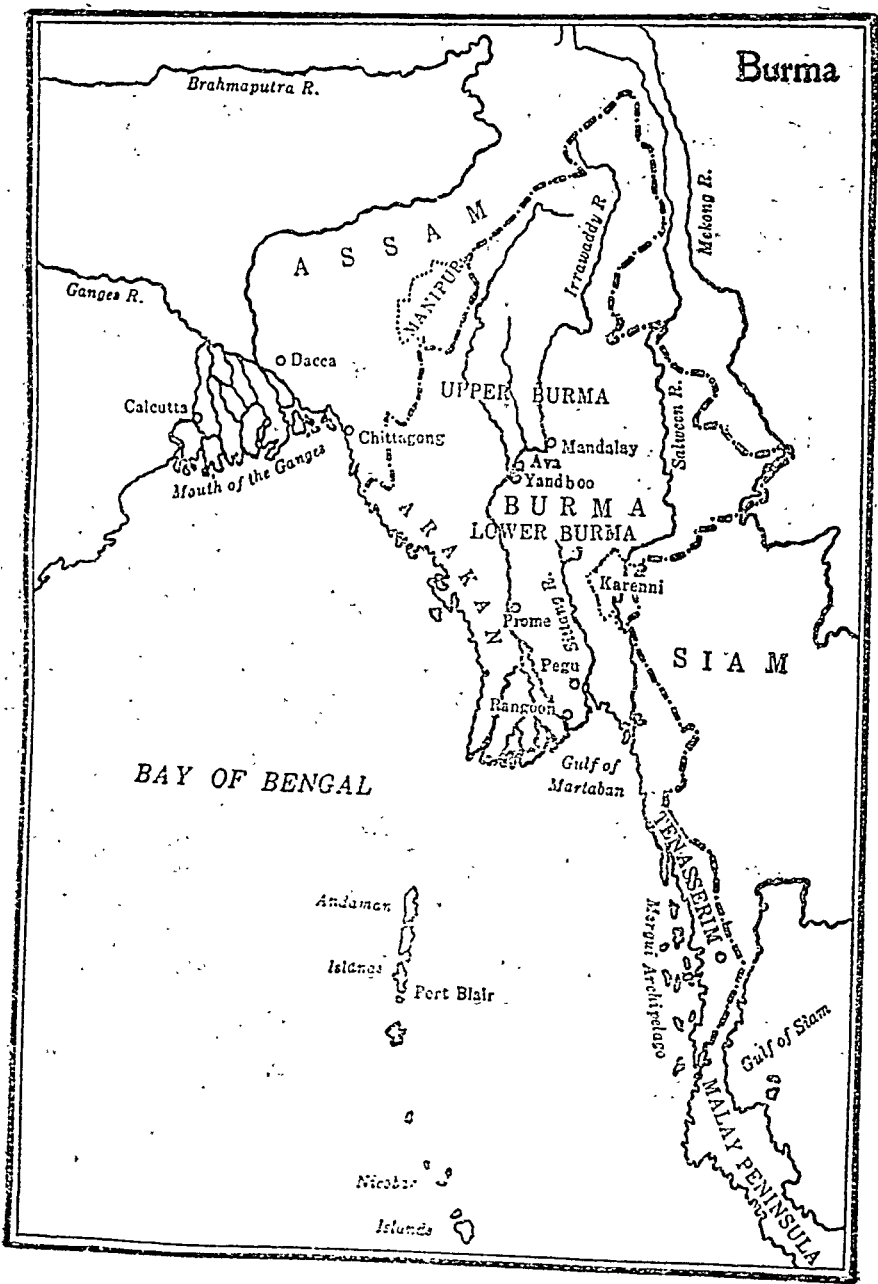
Chronological Summary.

		A.D.
Death of Dost Muhammad	... ..	1863
Capture of Samarquand by Russians	... ..	1868
The Khanates of the Oxus occupied by Russia	... ..	1873
War between Russia and Turkey	... ..	1876
The Second Afghan War	... ..	1878
Death of Sher Ali	... ..	1879
Treaty of Gandamak	... ..	1879
Abdur Rahman becomes Amir	... ..	1881
Annexation of Upper Burma	... ..	1886
Durand Commission and delimitation of the Afghan boundary	... ..	1893
Chitral affair	... ..	1895
Revolt of the Mohmands	... ..	1897
The Upper and Lower Burma united	... ..	1897
Suppression of the Mohmands	... ..	1898
Tirah Campaign	... ..	1898

(3) Internal administration (1862—99).

Lord
Lawrence.

Lord Lawrence was an able and experienced administrator whose honesty and sound judgment were seen in every thing that he did. Though his best success was achieved in the field of diplomacy, he did not neglect the administration of the country. He sympathised with the peasantry and tried to improve their position. The Oudh Tenancy Act (1868) granted occupancy rights to tenants under certain conditions and allowed compensation for improvements.



The Punjab Tenancy Act of 1869 clearly defined occupancy rights and prevented the landlords from enhancing the rents at will. There was severe famine in Orissa in 1868 and was followed by floods which caused much misery to the population. Another famine broke out in 1868-69 in Bundelkhand and Rajputana and the Government declared it to be its duty to save the people from its dire effect. The public works department received his full attention and he began the practice of raising loans for productive purposes.

At the close of Lord Lawrence's term of office there was a deficit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Lord Mayo reduced the expenditure on public works and education. He raised the income tax to 3 p.c. which caused much public opposition. As the collection was accompanied by bribery and extortion, the people suffered much. The rich evaded payment, while the poor were severely punished for resistance to the authorities. At the end of the year there was a surplus and Lord Mayo continued the tax for another year at the rate of one per cent.

The centralisation of finances was a great evil. Hitherto the provincial governments had no power to spend their income. They had to apply to the central government for grants and were not allowed to spend them as they liked. No money could be spent without the sanction of the Viceroy. There was no incentive to economy, for the local governments had to remit their saving to the imperial treasury. The result of this was that demands were often pitched far in excess of what was really needed and the largest grants were obtained by those who pressed their claims with great insistence.

In 1870 Lord Mayo gave to provincial governments yearly grants which could be revised every five years. They were allowed to frame their own budget and to spend freely within certain defined limits. Money saved in respect of one item

could be spent on another. The system was a great success and in 1817 the budget showed a surplus.

Salt Tax.

In Lord Mayo's time the salt tax amounted to Rs. 3/8 on a maund of 82 pounds. The burden fell largely on the poorer classes. The high price of salt reduced the consumption and millions of men died of disease and bad food. Lord Mayo cheapened the salt and obtained from the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur a lease of the Sambhar lake in Rajputana. Salt mines in the Punjab were also worked and in Oudh the old system of making salt was revived.

Agriculture.

A department of agriculture was created. Model farms were established to teach the peasants and landholders the value of the application of new methods to agriculture. Canals were extended and a compulsory cess was levied in the Punjab.

Education and Social Reform.

The system of education received the support of the Viceroy. The number of Primary schools increased in the provinces. A college was founded at Ajmer for the education of the princes and sons of noble families but the institution did not actually begin its work until 1885. The princes liberally supported the scheme and fully appreciated the advantages of education.

The Indian Society was rapidly changing under the influence of new ideas. In Bengal the movement of the Brahmo-Samaj was making rapid progress and Keshava Chandra's inspiring example had brought into its fold thousands of devoted adherents.

For the convenience of the members of the Brahmo-Samaj a Marriage Act was passed. In 1870 an Act for the prevention of female infanticide was passed and the Penal Code was amended. An Act was passed to afford relief to the Taluqdars of Oudh by taking over the management of their estates in order to pay off their debts.

In January, 1872, Lord Mayo went to pay a visit to the convict settlement in the Andaman Islands but he was stabbed to death by a Muslim fanatic who had been sentenced to transportation three years before on a charge of murder. Lord Mayo was an Irishman of great personal charm and his death was universally mourned. Death of Lord Mayo.

Lord Mayo's financial reforms were looked upon with distrust. The income tax was unpopular and the authority given to local governments to frame their budgets was not appreciated. The income tax was abolished and the local governments were warned against any further increase of the local burden.

Lord Northbrook possessed a sound knowledge of finances and acted sometimes in opposition to the advice of such experts as Sir John Strachey. He believed in free trade and reduced the import duties to 5 per cent. He abolished all export duties except those on oil, rice, indigo and lac. He was asked to make a further reduction but he refused to do so on the ground of loss of revenue. Lord Northbrook's Economic policy.

In 1873—74 there was a serious famine in Bengal and Bihar owing to failure of rains. The drought affected parts of Oudh and N. W. Provinces. The Viceroy devised measures to afford relief and issued instructions to officers to see that not a single man died for want of food. He induced the railway companies to lower the rate for carrying grain from one place to another. About 6½ millions were spent on famine relief.

The number of schools increased. The study of medicine became popular and science began to make progress. An Association of science was founded in Calcutta for the spread of Scientific knowledge. In 1875 a school of Arts was established at Lahore to teach the people improved methods of manufactures. Missionary ladies began to visit Indian homes. The social outlook changed and women Education and Social Reform.

began to desire freedom. Some Hindus condemned polygamy and began to send their daughters to English schools. Social reformers declared that widow-marriage and sea-voyage were not contrary to the Shastras.

The number of newspapers increased and officials always impatient of criticism thought that the prestige of government suffered by their criticism.

The Prince
of Wales.

The Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII) paid a visit to India in 1875 and he was received with great joy by the princes and people of India. All classes vied with one another in offering loyalty to the heir-apparent of the British throne. The Prince visited many centres, and everywhere he was treated with marked respect and friendliness.

Lord North-
brook's
resig-
nation.

Lord Northbrook's differences with the Government in England over the Afghan question and the cotton duties led to his resignation. He retired in 1876 and was succeeded by Lord Lytton.

Lord
Lytton's
adminis-
tration.

Lord Lytton was a man of great ability, a poet and a diplomatist but he lacked the qualifications needed in a Viceroy of India who must possess great sense and sagacity and understand the people whom he is called upon to govern.

The Delhi
Durbar.

The best way of fighting Russia is, said Lord Beaconsfield, to turn our Queen into an Empress, and his proposal was accepted by Parliament. In 1877 Lord Lytton held a brilliant Durbar at Delhi on the New Year's day in which the Queen was invested with the title of Empress. Durbars were held at all the chief stations and titles were bestowed upon loyal persons. In the same year the Viceroy laid the foundations of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh.

Fiscal
Reforms.

The salt tax was not properly managed and smuggling was practised on a large scale. It was an important source of revenue which the Government could not neglect. Steps had been taken before to acquire control of Salt lakes from Jaipur

and Jodhpur, Sir John Strachey now entered into agreements with other states to obtain control of their salt sources. The salt duties still remained but the disparity in prices was considerably minimised. The Viceroy thought a tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per maund was not oppressive and its pressure was quite inappreciable. The cotton duties on coarser cloth were abolished in 1879 in response to the agitation of Lancashire merchants. The members of the Council were opposed to the measure but they were overruled by the Governor-General. Indian opinion was naturally opposed to the abolition of the duties.

Lord Mayo had authorised the local governments to spend their grants as they liked and to utilise their savings for the benefit of the province. But this arrangement did not lead to economy and in 1878 it was decided to assign to local governments certain sources of revenue such as excise, stamps, etc. In order to induce them to make improvements in the administration. The assigned revenues were sometimes insufficient and the deficit was made good by yearly grants. The result of this was that the Provincial governments made ample savings and after the second Afghan war it was felt that their treasures were full, while the central government was hard pressed for money. In 1912 in the time of Lord Hardinge these provincial settlements were made permanent.

In March, 1878 the Viceroy carried through his Council the Vernacular Press Act which abolished the freedom of the Press which Metcalf had granted 43 years before. The editors of newspapers were placed under the control of District officers who sometimes applied the law with great rigour. Lord Lytton did not draw the line between legitimate criticism and sedition and the whole Press was punished for the sins of a few irresponsible editors. Agitation was driven under ground and a greater mischief resulted from the Viceroy's hasty action.

Provincial grants.

The Vernacular Press Act.

Dictionary
Civil
Service.

In the last year of his Viceroyalty Lord Lytton extended the principle contained in the Royal Proclamation of 1858 that no native of British India should by reason of his caste, colour or creed be debarred from holding any office under the Crown. The Civil Service examination was opened to Indians in 1853 but as it was held in London only a few Indians could successfully enter the Civil Service. Caste stood in the way of many brilliant young men with the result that in 1878 there were only nine Indians in the covenanted Civil Service. The system of scholarships founded by Lord Lawrence had not worked well. It was, therefore, declared in 1878 that not more than one-sixth of the total number of covenanted Civil servants should be natives of India, selected by the local governments subject to the approval of the Governor-General in Council. They were to be on probation for two years. They were called statutory civilians.

Review
of Lord
Canning's
Policy.

Lord Lytton resigned in 1880. He was a man of brilliant gifts but his statesmanship was neither sound nor sagacious. His Afghan policy was a blunder and was rightly criticised by officials and non-officials. There was a huge waste of life and money and as Lord Ripon said the annexation of Afghanistan was like the annexation of the moon. But his mind was not barren of useful suggestions. He urged the adoption of a gold standard for India and the creation of the North-Western Frontier Province. He condemned the conduct of Europeans who assaulted their Indian servants. His Durbar strengthened the loyalty of the Indian princes but it was held at a time when the country was passing through a dreadful famine. The Vernacular Press Act was another hasty action which did much to alienate the intelligent section of Indian opinion.

A Liberal
Policy.

Lord Ripon was an enlightened statesman who sympathised with Indian aspirations and wished to introduce into the Indian Government the spirit of English liberalism. He

believed in the efficacy of representative institutions and wished to associate Indians with the work of the administration. There were officials who dissented from this view and



Lord Ripon.

held that the soil of India was uncongenial for the growth of democracy and self-government but the Viceroy was firm in his intentions and boldly carried out the policy he had chalked out for himself.

He encouraged free trade and the abolition of 5 per cent. duties on imports, except salt, wines, spirits and arms. The salt tax was reduced throughout the country. The department of agriculture was reorganised and the rights of landlords and tenants in Bengal were determined and safeguarded. Economic Reform.

The most important reform associated with Lord Ripon's name is the introduction of the scheme of Local Self-Government. During 1883—85 he passed a series of Acts which Local Self Government.

established district and local Boards and increased the power of Municipal Boards. The latter were allowed to elect their own chairman wherever possible. The Boards were entrusted with funds which they spent on public works, health and education, etc. Later the principle of election was introduced and the members were chosen by the rate-payers. Large powers were reserved by the local governments to compel them to do their work efficiently and to prevent them from doing mischief. The system has not proved an unmixed good but there is no doubt that it has served as 'an instrument of political and popular education.' The educated classes welcomed the measure and Lord Ripon is remembered to this day as 'the father of Local Self-Government.'

Education
and
Legislation.

Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act in 1881 and in the same year a commission was appointed to consider the educational policy of the Government under the Presidency of Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. W. Hunter. The recommendations of the commission were embodied in a Resolution but before they could be given effect to Lord Ripon had resigned.

Efforts were made to improve the life of workers in factories. In 1881 an Act was passed which required that children between seven and twelve years of age should not be made to work for more than nine hours a day. It further required that all machinery likely to cause loss of life or limb should be properly enclosed.

But a storm soon arose over the famous *Ilbert Bill* which gave no small amount of trouble to the Viceroy. According to the old Criminal Procedure Code no Indian magistrate or judge could try a European British subject outside the Presidency towns. Now several Indians had risen to high positions in the covenanted Civil Service and the distinction was felt as ~~highly~~ unjust and unpopular. In 1883 Mr. C. P. Ilbert, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council brought

forward a bill which sought to abolish the racial disqualification of Indian magistrates. It provoked a storm in European circles. The non-official Europeans offered a vehement opposition to the bill and went to the length of insulting the Viceroy. The educated Indians started a counter-agitation and welcomed the measure as an act of rare foresight and statesmanship. Racial animosities were deeply stirred and the wildest language was used on both sides. At last Government had to yield and a compromise was effected. The principle of equality for which Lord Ripon had fought was given up and it was agreed that every European British subject could claim to be tried by a jury half of whom were to be Europeans or Americans.

Lord Ripon resigned in December, 1884. At his departure hundreds of addresses were presented to him by educated Indians and his journey from Simla to Bombay was a 'triumphal procession' accompanied by scenes of unparalleled loyalty and enthusiasm. Public meetings were held all over the country at which his wise and beneficent policy was applauded by distinguished speakers. Never before had a Viceroy won in *such* a large measure the loving homage and devotion of the people of India.

Lord Dufferin came out to India as a great diplomatist who had a considerable experience of public affairs. Besides he was a man of charming manners and an eloquent speaker and by his social qualities well fitted to heal the scars left by the bitter controversy over the Ilbert Bill. Much of his time was occupied with foreign affairs but he did not neglect the administration.

The new Viceroy paid anxious attention to the land problem in Bengal, Oudh and the Punjab. The Bengal Tenancy Act was passed in 1885 and was designed to ensure to the ryot fixity of tenure and judicial rents. The Oudh Rent Act (1886) entitled tenants to make improvements on

their holdings and to receive compensation for such improvements on being ejected from them. A tenant was entitled under this law to hold his land for seven years. The Punjab Tenancy Act (1887) defined the relations between landlords and tenants. It made provision for a just settlement of rents and compensation for improvements. It is true, the land legislation was largely due to the ability and experience of local officers but the Viceroy's part in it was commendable.

Restoration
of the
fort of
Gwalior.

In 1886 the fort of Gwalior was restored to Maharaja Sindhia and Morar was given up in lieu of the town of Jhansi. The Maharaja was much pleased and his prestige rose higher with the acquisition of this ancient fortress.

Jubilee of
the Queen.

In 1887 the jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated with great magnificence and officials and non-officials joined in praying for her welfare.

Education.

Education made some advance. The University of the Punjab was established in 1882 and of Allahabad in 1887 with Sir Alfred Lyall as its first Chancellor.

Lord Dufferin resigned in March, 1888, for domestic reasons and was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne.

Constitutional
Reform.

Much had happened since the Sepoy War of 1857 to awaken national consciousness among the Indian people. Their increased association with legislation, Ripon's measures relating to local self-government and the repeal of the Press Act, the advance of higher education and the spirit of social and religious reform both among Hindus and Muslims combined to cause unrest and gave a stimulus to their national aspirations. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in 1885 and formulated certain demands, the chief of which was the expansion of the legislative councils. Lord Dufferin recognised the justice of the demand and suggested certain constitutional changes. In 1892 was passed Lord Cross's Indian Councils Act which

enlarged the legislative councils of the Indian Government. In 1886 a Council had already been established in the United Provinces like the Councils of the three Presidencies.

The object of this reform was to give non-official Indians an opportunity of taking part in the work of government. In the Viceroy's Council the number of additional members could be raised to sixteen and the Viceroy was given the power to lay down the conditions of nomination.

The provincial legislatures were enlarged and non-official members were nominated by municipalities, senates of Universities and various commercial bodies. The principle of election was not introduced but representation was conceded. The council could discuss the Budget and members were given the right to ask questions under certain restrictions. These changes did not satisfy Indian opinion though it must be added that they widened the scope of the work of the legislative councils.

There were several other important administrative changes introduced during Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty. Other Changes. The Public Services Commission appointed in 1886-87 made recommendations which were carried out in 1891. The Civil Service was divided into three classes—the imperial, provincial and subordinate. The statutory Civil Service was abolished. Admission to the imperial service was made by examination in London and to the Provincial service by examination and promotion from the subordinate service. In 1893 a resolution was passed by Parliament that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held simultaneously both in India and England but this had no effect.

The currency reform of Lord Lansdowne deserves a Currency Reform. brief mention. The basis of currency in India was the silver rupee and since the mint was open to the public, the value of the rupee in gold depended upon the gold price of silver bullion. Owing to fluctuation in exchange the value

of the rupee fell in 1890 to 1s. 4d. and in 1893 to 1s. 2d. The finances of the Government of India were seriously affected for it had to make payments in gold in England. At last in 1893 the mints were closed against the free coinage of silver, and sovereigns and half sovereigns could be exchanged for 15 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees respectively. The rate of exchange fluctuated again, and in 1898-99 it reached up to 1s. 4d. Finally an act was passed which made the sovereign and half sovereign legal tender at Rs. 15 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ respectively. Debts could now be paid in either silver or gold. The result was a surplus and the financial position of the Government of India was greatly improved.

Lord Elgin
II's Govern-
ment.

Lord Elgin II came out as Viceroy in 1894. He was not a man of great personal gifts and nothing striking was achieved by him during his term of office. The system of having three Commanders-in-Chief for the three presidencies was abandoned and henceforward there was to be only one Commander-in-Chief for the whole of India. The opium commission declared against the total prohibition of the importation of opium to China. A great calamity confronted Lord Elgin's government when the plague broke out in Bombay in 1896 and caused havoc in the thickly populated quarters. Thousands of people fled from the city in panic. By degrees the fell disease spread to every town and caused an appalling loss of human life. About the same time (1896-97) a serious famine broke out in the United Provinces, Behar and certain districts of the Punjab. Sir Antony Macdonnell (afterwards Lord), the Lieutenant-Governor of the U. P. exerted himself to devise measures of famine relief. A famine commission was appointed which discussed the principles of relief.

The
Nationalist
movement.

India is a land of many races, religions and languages. The ideal of political, religious and cultural unity was known to her people but after the fall of the Mughal empire in the

eighteenth century there arose a number of states which were always fighting among themselves. As there was no strong central government, there was no political unity and the want of education made it impossible for the people to form the conception of a society in which the various elements were fused into a compact whole. There was no patriotism, no sense of nationality and no homogeneity in the population. The Marathas, Sikhs, Rajputs and Muslims did not work for a common end and were never able to merge their interests in the interests of the country. It was towards the middle of the nineteenth century that the consciousness of the people was awakened by a number of causes. The first was the impact of the Europeans who brought into this country new ways of life and thought. The second was the administrative unity established by the British people. The whole country was brought under one rule with a uniform system of laws, education and justice. The increased facilities of communication made it possible for the people of the different parts of the country to come in close contact with one another and to develop a common outlook. Old barriers of caste and creed gave way and social prejudices began to disappear. The establishment of Universities brought Western science and culture within the reach of the people and created in them a desire for democratic institutions. Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal raised his voice of protest against *Sati* and founded the Brahmo Samaj which discarded idolatry and the distinctions of caste. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, raised the cry of 'Back to the Vedas.' He condemned idolatry and suggested many social and religious reforms. In 1875 was founded the Theosophical Society by Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky which saw truth in all religions and laid stress upon human brotherhood. It presented ancient Hindu ideals in a new garb and made a special appeal to the educated classes.

National
Congress

The life of the people was enriched from many sources and a longing was created for political advance. The decline of Indian industries and trade made the people think that the system of government established in the country was not an unmixed good. Several associations were formed for the study of political and economic questions. Through the efforts of Mr. A. O. Hume, an English civilian, the first Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in December, 1885, and was presided over by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, a Bengali lawyer of great ability and eminence. The members of the Congress were friendly to the British Government and their goal was self-government within the British empire. The resolutions passed by the Congress aimed at (1) the abolition of the Council of Secretary of State, (2) the expansion and reform of the legislative councils, (3) simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India and England, (4) the removal of poverty, (5) and the reduction of military expenditure.

The Congress movement was joined by educated men of the middle classes, but the Muslims held aloof in its early stages. The delegates to the second Congress were treated to a party at Government House by Lord Dufferin (1886). But later the Government became hostile to the Congress and watched its activities with suspicion. Yet the Viceroy suggested reform in Councils and the result was the Councils Act of 1892. The Congress pursued its course in spite of the opposition of the officials, the Anglo-Indian Press and their supporters among the Hindus and Muslims. The most prominent leaders of the Congress were Mr. Dadabhai Nawroji, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta and others. They popularised the cause of the Congress by their writings and speeches and tried to create public opinion.

States.

The Indian

Soon after the mutiny Lord Canning held a Durbar in which he assured the princes of the good will of the Crown

and reaffirmed the right of adoption. Lord Elgin did the same and asked the princes to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people by founding schools, making good roads and by suppressing evil customs.

Lord Lawrence held a Durbar at Agra (1866) which was attended by many princes. He impressed upon them the duty of governing well. Some of the states acted upon his advice and employed capable officers to carry on the business of the administration while there were others which were thoroughly misgoverned. In 1867 the Nawab of Tonk was deposed for bringing about the murder of one of his feudatories. He was sent to Benares on a pension of Rs. 60,000 a year. His young son was made Nawab and a Council of Regency was established under a British officer to manage the affairs. The Raja of Jodhpur was warned against misconduct and when he absented himself from the Durbar held by Lord Mayo at Ajmer (1871), his impolitic action was regarded as an insult to the Paramount power and he was ordered to leave the camp immediately.

The young Raja of Alwar turned out a spend-thrift. He squandered away the money in the treasury and incurred heavy debts. The people were tired of misrule. The Raja was deprived of his power and all authority was vested in a council presided over by a British officer.

Lord Mayo was impressed by the evils in Indian states and he saw the causes of disorder and misrule in the want of education among the princes. He founded a college at Ajmer and another at Rajkot in Kathiawad. Many of the scions of royal families applied themselves to their studies with industry and devotion and became keen sportsmen.

A most serious case of misrule occurred in 1874 in Baroda during the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook. The Maharaja Gaekwar was accused of making an attempt to poison the British Resident. He was arrested and put on his

trial before a commission consisting of three Europeans and three Indians—the Maharajas of Jaipur and Gwalior and Sir Dinkar Rao. The European members held the Maharaja guilty while the Indian members considered the charges not fully proved. As the opinion of the commission was divided, the charge of murder was abandoned and the Maharaja was deposed on the ground of mis-government. He was sent to Madras where he died in 1893. A boy, Sayaji Rao, who was distantly related to the royal family, was placed on the throne and the management of the state was carried on during the minority by Sir T. Madhav Rao. Sayaji Rao proved to be a capable ruler and under him Baroda has made considerable progress.

The condition of the Rajput states improved and princes and nobles sent their sons to the Mayo College and tried to abolish bad social customs. Some of them like the Maharaja of Jaipur showed a liberal spirit and gave encouragement to English education.

Trouble broke out in the hill state of Manipur (Assam) in 1890. The Raja was deposed by his brother, the Senapati or the Commander-in-Chief, and the government fell into disorder. When drastic action was taken against the Senapati, he offered resistance and successfully inveigled the British officers into his palace and had them murdered. The British troops soon avenged the foul crime. The Senapati and his accomplices were tried and sentenced to death. A child of the family was placed on the throne and the administration was carried on by a British Resident.

Soon after, the Government of India had to interfere in the affairs of the Khanate of Kelat. Towards the end of 1892 the Khan of Kelat committed several acts of violence and caused the murder of the wazir who was 94 years of age and his son was placed upon the gaddi.

Lord Lansdowne extended the British protectorate over

certain wild tribes on the Eastern frontier and entered into a settlement with the Shan States which agreed to pay tribute to the British Government.

(4) India under Lord Curzon (1899—1905)

Lord Curzon came out as Viceroy when he was not quite 40 years of age. He was the youngest Governor-General with the exception of Lord Dalhousie who was only 36 at the time of his appointment. He possessed a personal knowledge about India and her people. He had eloquence, ability and ambition and what is rare in men occupying high offices unwearied industry. He applied himself to the problems of the administration with great zeal and vigour and astonished by his enthusiasm for work all those who came in contact with him. A brilliant Viceroy.

Lord Curzon's task in India was three-fold: (1) to settle the North-West Frontier, (2) to devise means to deal with plague and famine, (3) and to overhaul the administration so as to make it suited to the changed conditions. He dealt with these problems in a bold and decisive manner. His excess of zeal often brought him in conflict with Indian opinion but he persevered in his attempts and never gave up the task in despair. Problems before him.

Soon after landing in India Lord Curzon was faced with the question of Chitral which was susceptible to Russian intrigue. A garrison was placed there to guard against aggression and ensure order on the frontier. The road was improved and a telegraph line was constructed a year or two later. North-West Frontier Province

The settlement of the Chitral question led the Viceroy to examine the condition of the Afghan frontier. He was definitely opposed to the "forward policy" and adopted a moderate course. He proposed to withdraw British troops

from advanced positions, to employ tribal forces for the defence of tribal country and to keep behind them British forces in British territory so as to strengthen them in time of need. The control of the frontier was taken away from the Punjab Government which had failed to manage it properly. In 1901 Lord Curzon created the North-West Frontier Province which was placed in charge of a chief commissioner with his headquarters at Peshawar. The Punjab civilians strongly opposed the measure but it was carried out in spite of their protests.

Since the creation of this province there has been peace on the frontier with the exception of the trouble of 1908 and better relations have been established between the tribal chiefs and the British Government.

The old North-West Province was renamed the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh with Allahabad as its headquarters. But the governor now generally lives at Lucknow where the Secretariat has been recently removed.

Afghanistan. It was the policy of the British Government to maintain Afghanistan as a buffer state and to prevent foreign powers from interfering in its affairs. Abdur Rahman died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son Habibullah. The latter refused to admit that the engagements between his father and the British Government were of a purely personal character and he insisted on their being continued. Besides, he was more inclined towards Russia than towards the British and was persuaded with great difficulty to receive a mission. A treaty was at last made with him and the British envoy had to agree to his demands.

Persian Gulf. Lord Curzon tried to maintain the British position in the Persian Gulf. It was necessary to do so in order to keep peace in the waters to give security to the people of the gulf and to exclude foreign powers from it. In the early part of the twentieth century Germany wanted to connect

Constantinople with the Persian Gulf by means of a Railway. Turkey, France and Russia were equally desirous of securing a foothold on the shores of the gulf. Great Britain declared that any move in this direction would be treated as an act of hostility.

The country of Tibet on the north-west frontier was Expedition nominally subject to China. It was ruled by a Council of to Tibet. Regency in the name of the Dalai Lama, one of the two religious leaders of the Buddhist in Tibet. The Tibetans had a great distrust of British motives and policy. In 1886 a mission was sent to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, but the Chinese protested and it was recalled. Later a trade engagement was made but it was not observed by the Tibetans. The British Government was alarmed when missions were sent to Russia.

Lord Curzon on his arrival found the affairs of Tibet in a deadlock and with the consent of the Home Government, reluctantly given, sent (November, 1903) a mission to Lhasa with Colonel Yunghusband as its head. The Dalai Lama fled and the city was occupied. An agreement was made with the leading officials who agreed to open the trade marts and to pay an indemnity. The expedition proved useless, for the Tibetans were left to the mercy of the Chinese and little was done to develop trade.

The first appearance of plague was in Bombay in 1896. Plague and From there it spread to other parts of India and caused Famine. heavy loss of life. Riots occurred when government took precautionary measures. Lord Curzon issued a Resolution in 1900 in which he condemned compulsory inoculation and house-searches and advised the officers of Government to use persuasion instead of coercion. Research into causes of plague was ordered and steps were taken to arrest the progress of the fell disease. The failure of the monsoon in 1899-1900 caused a dire famine in the Punjab, Rajputana,

Barada, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Gujarat. Cattle died in millions and a great misery overtook the population. The Viceroy himself toured in the famine-stricken areas and opened a Relief Fund. Huge sums were spent in advancing loans to the landholders and agriculturists and revenue was remitted.

Fiscal
Reform.

The taxable income was raised to £66 a year and the salt tax was practically reduced by 50 per cent. Better financial arrangements were made between the central and provincial governments. A resolution was issued in 1902 which embodied the principles of revenue policy. The theory that famine was caused by over-assessment was disproved and greater elasticity in revenue demand was enforced.

The Punjab
Land
Aliena-
tion Act
(1900).

The condition of the peasantry in the Punjab drew Lord Curzon's attention. Their land was passing into the hands of creditors and they were reduced to utter poverty. An act was passed in October, 1900, by which shopkeepers, money-lenders and professional men were prevented from buying land from hereditary cultivators or from holding such land in mortgage for more than twenty years without the consent of the state. It was also laid down that the land of a hereditary cultivator could not be sold in execution of a decree.

The measure proved beneficial to the peasantry of the Punjab. Sales of land and mortgages were reduced in number and the landowning tribes recovered much of the lands that had gone out of their hands.

In 1901 he appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture, assisted by a body of experts, to do research and make suggestions for future development.

Another measure which benefited the peasantry was the Co-operative Credit Societies Act which was passed in 1904 to relieve agricultural indebtedness.

Commerce
and
Industry.

A new department of Commerce and Industry with a member as its head was created. The first Commerce Member

was Sir John Hewitt and he was given a seat in the Viceroy's Council. He extended the Railways and improved the lines already open. All matters pertaining to the Railways were entrusted to a Railway Board.

Industries received great encouragement from Lord Curzon. The great schemes of Jamsetjee Tata, like the foundation of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, were launched forth in his time and received warm support from him.

Queen Victoria died in 1901 and her death was universally mourned. A just and noble sovereign, she had always taken a keen interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects. When the Viceroy proposed his scheme of an Imperial Memorial in February, 1901, the princes and people made a hearty response. The Victoria Memorial is one of the finest buildings in Calcutta and will always remind us of the goodness and justice of the great Queen after whom it is named.

Death
Queen
Victoria
(1901).

On the New Year's day in 1903 the Viceroy held a grand Durbar at Delhi to celebrate the coronation of Edward VII. No Durbar has ever surpassed Lord Curzon's pageant in magnificence. The king's message announced the remission of three years' interest on famine loans to Indian states but the people were wholly ignored. The Durbar provoked a fierce criticism in the Indian Press. But Lord Curzon defended it and said that it created a sense of unity among the Indian peoples and strengthened their devotion to the throne. Indian opinion thought otherwise and there were many who found it hard to reconcile themselves to this display of pomp while the country was passing through a severe famine.

The Delhi
Durbar
(1903).

The educational reform of Lord Curzon aroused much hostile feeling against him. He wanted to raise the standard of higher education and to secure better control of government over Universities. He held a conference at Simla

Education.

(1901) in which he declared that his aim was to place the educational system of the country on a sound basis. This was followed by a commission (January, 1902) appointed to examine the condition of the Universities and to recommend such measures as might elevate the standard of teaching and promote the cause of learning. The suggestions of the commission were embodied in the Universities Bill which was passed into law in March, 1904. It was strongly opposed by Indians, chief of whom was Mr. G. K. Gokhale. The motives of the Viceroy were questioned and he was charged with making an attempt to arrest the progress of higher education.

In the same year the Viceroy issued a Resolution on the educational policy of the Government which laid down principles for the guidance of officers. It was not without faults but it must be admitted that he infused a new life and vigour into the entire educational policy of Government.

Lord Curzon had a passion for travel and was deeply interested in the preservation of ancient monuments of the Hindus and Muslims. In 1904 the Ancient Monuments Act was passed by which many old buildings were saved from decay. A department of Archaeology was created with a Director at its head to look after the work of repair and conservation. This part of Lord Curzon's work will endure and will be appreciated by lovers of art and culture.

No measure of Lord Curzon's reign was more unpopular than the partition of Bengal which was carried out in the teeth of the opposition of the entire Bengali community. The province of Bengal had become unwieldy and its management was unsatisfactory. The official view was that Eastern Bengal was neglected and nothing was done for its moral and material progress. In 1905 a new province called Eastern Bengal and Assam was created and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor with Dacca as its capital. Lord Curzon

Archaeo-
logical
Monuments.

Partition of
Bengal.

justified the measure on the ground of administrative efficiency and his view was accepted by the Government in England.

A great agitation followed and numerous public meetings were held to protest against the partition. Swadeshi and boycott were preached and much indignation was shown. The leader of the anti-partition agitation was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjee who exerted himself to the utmost to get the partition annulled.

In 1911 the partition was annulled. The late king-emperor George V announced at the coronation Durbar that the Chief Commissionership of Assam was restored and the new province of Behar and Orissa with Chota Nagpur was created with its capital at Patna.

The Indian States received their fair share of the Viceroy's attention. He defined the relations which were to subsist between the Paramount power and the princes and told the latter that they should be active and vigorous in the discharge of their duties. "The States were links in the chain of imperial administration," said the Viceroy, "and it would never do for the British links to be strong and the native links weak." Indian States.

He visited 40 states during his tenure of office and tried to have first-hand knowledge of their conditions. He brought the princes in contact with the heads of the British administration and held personal consultations with them. The Imperial service troops were placed under the Commander-in-chief and were supervised by British officers. In 1901 he constituted the Imperial Cadet Corps which consisted of cadets of royal houses with the object of giving them training in arms and of getting them commissions in the army. He took interest in the education of the princes and revised their curriculum. In 1902 he entered into an agreement with the Nizam about the Berar question. The province was

made over to the British Government under a perpetual lease at an annual rent of £168,000 and the sovereignty of Haiderabad was nominally retained. The Nizam was satisfied and an old dispute came to an end.

Action was taken against Maharaja Holkar whose state was misgoverned. In 1903 he was asked to abdicate and his son was recognised as his successor.

Two years later the Maharaja of Kashmir was given his old powers and the Viceroy assured the public that Government had no intention of annexing the state.

Resignation
of Lord
Curzon
(1905).

A serious difference of opinion between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchner, the Commander-in-Chief, led to the former's resignation in 1905. They differed about the organisation of the military department and the position of the military member. The British cabinet supported Lord Kitchner. Lord Curzon held that the military should be subordinate to the civil authorities and chose to sacrifice his high position for a great principle.

Achievement
of Lord
Curzon.

Lord Curzon was an imperialist whose speeches and actions aroused much opposition in India. He was gifted with great natural ability but his zeal for efficiency often carried him too far. He did not seem to care much for the opinion of the educated classes who strongly criticised his policy. He suffered from two great defects. He was impatient of criticism and felt distressed by it. When he was engaged in a controversy, he made no distinction between minor points and broad essentials. But no one can deny that he tried to serve his sovereign and country according to his best lights, and while in India he never spared himself in the discharge of his duties.

Chronological Summary.

	A.D.
Orissa Famine	1868
Famine in Bundelkhand	1869
Provincial Contract System	1870
Murder of Lord Mayo	1872
Famine in Bengal and Behar	1873-74
Deposition of the Gaekwar	1874
Visit of Prince of Wales	1875
Lord Lytton's Durbar at Delhi	1877
The Vernacular Press Act	1878
Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act	1881
Foundation of the Punjab University	1882
The Ilbert Bill	1883
Foundation of the Indian National Congress	1885
The Oudh Tenancy Act	1886
Restoration of Gwalior Fort	1886
The Punjab Tenancy Act	1887
Jubilee of Queen Victoria	1887
Foundation of the Allahabad University	1887
Indian Councils Act	1892
Famine in the United Provinces, Central Provinces and other parts	1896-97
The Punjab Land Alienation Act	1900
Death of Queen Victoria	1901
The Barar Agreement	1902
The Education Commission	1902
The Delhi Durbar	1903
The Tibetan Mission	1903
Deposition of Holkar	1903
The Indian Universities Act	1904
The Co-operative Credit Societies Act	1904
Partition of Bengal	1905
Lord Curzon's Resignation	1905

(5) Political Unrest and Constitutional Reform
(1905—19)

The Political Situation.

Lord Curzon's hasty reforms and his disregard of Indian opinion caused much unrest in the country. Plague and famine and the economic pressure on land spread discontent among the masses while the free trade policy of the Government did harm to the trading communities. The Indian industries suffered much from foreign competition and large numbers of men were thrown out of employment. The increased cost of administration led to heavy taxation and the people both in urban and rural areas found it hard to make both ends meet. Indians began to study economic problems and drew the attention of Government to the growing poverty of the masses. The religious revival led by Swami Vivekanand created a new spirit in Bengal and strengthened the feelings of nationalism. The victory of a small country like Japan over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1905) kindled the hopes of the educated classes and encouraged their political ambitions. Boycott of foreign goods was preached and in some places violence also occurred. Inside the Congress serious differences arose among members with regard to policy and methods of work. The leaders of the forward school were Bal Gangadhar Tilak from Maharashtra, Lala Lajpat Rai from the Punjab and Arbindo Ghosh from Bengal. Against these were men of the older school of thought like Dadabhai Nawroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gokhale, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mr. Dadabhai Nawroji who presided over the Congress at Calcutta in 1906 laid down for the first time Swaraj as the ideal of the Congress. Feeling ran high in Congress circles and resolutions on boycott, Swadeshi and National Education were passed. In certain parts of Bengal societies were formed which spread doctrines

against the Government and appealed to the youth of the country to join the revolutionary movement. Matters came to a head in 1907 when the Congress met at Surat. The leaders of the left wing disapproved of the policy of the moderates and expressed strong opposition to mild and peaceful methods. The Congress broke up amidst scenes of disorder and the moderates hastily met in a convention to define the creed of the Congress. Mr. Tilak's prestige rose high in the Deccan and he acquired a rare hold upon the minds of the people in Maharashtra. His articles in the *Kesari* were widely read and stimulated the desire for political reform.

The Muslims were equally anxious to improve their political status. In October, 1906, a Muslim deputation headed by H. H. the Aga Khan waited upon the Viceroy and asked for separate electorates. Lord Minto agreed with him and recommended representation on the lines suggested by the deputation. About this time the Muslim League also came into existence, and while expressing its loyalty to the British Government, it urged the special claims of minorities and accepted Self-Government within the empire as the goal of Muslim aspirations.

In 1907-08 the terrorist outrages occurred in Bengal and there was much excitement among the students. Mr. Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for writing articles which Government regarded as seditious. Lala Lajpat Rai was also deported under an old Regulation. Racial hatred and class hostility made matters worse and many persons lost their lives at the hands of revolutionaries and conspirators. The throwing of bombs became frequent, and secret societies were formed as in the west to destroy the government. To sum up, the situation was rendered grave by three causes:—(a) victory of Japan over Russia, (b) the new spirit of nationalism, (c) and the growing poverty of the people.

Minto-
Morley
Reforms
(1909).

Lord Minto had discussed the situation with Lord Morley, the new Secretary of State, who was a great thinker and statesman. Both were sympathetic towards Indian aspirations and desired to conciliate the people by timely concessions. Lord Morley's view was that the best way to weaken the Indian extremists was to grant a liberal measure of reform. Their proposals were finally embodied in a Government of India Act (1909) which made important changes in the constitution. An Indian member was added to the Viceroy's Executive Council and he was Sir (afterwards Lord) S. P. Sinha, an eminent Barrister of the Calcutta High Court. The Councils were enlarged and their powers increased. The Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay were also enlarged and similar Councils were to be established in the provinces, governed by Lieutenant-Governors. The Imperial Legislative Council was enlarged from 21 to 60 and care was taken to secure the representation of various classes and interests. The non-officials were in a majority everywhere except the Council of the Viceroy. Powers were given to members to discuss the budget and to ask supplementary questions. The principle of election was introduced in place of nomination.

The Minto-Morley Reform was only a half-way house. It failed to satisfy a large body of opinion. The principle of class representation was strongly opposed as one likely to aggravate the forces of disunion in the country. Indirect election and limited franchise were serious defects in the scheme. Still, the moderates like Mr. Gokhale expressed their readiness to work the reforms though they did not consider them adequate.

Education.
and
Legislation.

Though anxious to allay discontent, Lord Minto took drastic steps to put down political crime. The Seditious Meetings Act was passed in 1907 and the Regulation of 1818 was revived under which 9 Bengali leaders and Lala Lajpat Rai

and Ajit Singh were deported. The Press Act of 1910 was passed in order to punish newspapers which published seditious matter and incited men to violence. On the same day the Press Act was passed, the Bengal deportees were released.

In March, 1910, Mr. Gokhale moved his Resolution on Elementary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council to make provision for mass education but it did not succeed owing to official opposition.

Lord Minto was a wise and sagacious statesman who by his tact and firmness managed a difficult situation with success. He restored harmony and good will where discord and strife had existed before. He was sympathetic towards Indian aims and never treated them with contempt or indifference. His natural kindness and courtesy endeared him to all despite the repressive laws that he passed. During his Viceroyalty there were many in India who cried for strong men and measures but Lord Minto paid no heed to their advice. In his farewell speech he declared that the strongest man was he who was not afraid of being called weak.

Lord Minto returned in 1910 and was succeeded by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst.

King Edward VII died in May, 1910, and was succeeded by the Prince of Wales under the title of George V. After their coronation in London their Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress came to India with the advice of the ministers. A grand Durbar was held at Delhi on December 12, in which the coronation was proclaimed. His Majesty announced a number of boons to the Indian people. A month's extra pay was granted to soldiers and civil servants in the subordinate grades. A sum of 50 lakhs was given for the education of the people. The capital of India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. The partition of Bengal was modified and Assam was again placed under a chief commissioner. A new province was created consisting of Behar, Orissa and

Character of
Lord Minto.

The
Imperial
Visit (1911).

Chotanagpur and was entrusted to a Governor with his headquarters at Patna. A declaration was also made that Indians were eligible for the Victoria Cross. These changes were criticised both in India and England. It was felt that the transfer of the capital would entail a huge and unnecessary expenditure. The modification of the partition was regarded as a sign of weakness on the part of Government. But there was no doubt that the Durbar strengthened the sense of unity among the Indian people and the boons granted by His Majesty, the King-Emperor, were widely appreciated.

Royal Commission.

Lord Hardinge was anxious to give to Indians a large share in the public services and with this end in view a Royal Commission was appointed in 1912 to examine the condition of the services. Mr. G. K. Gokhale was also a member of this commission. The subject was examined from many points of view, and though members differed in opinion, the prospects of Government servants were considerably improved.

An Industrial Commission was also appointed to report on the condition of Indian Industries and to suggest means of improvement. The Currency Commission of 1913 suggested measures to ensure better management of the currency and to place the finances of the Government on a sound footing.

Education
and
Religion

Lord Hardinge's government sympathised with the scheme of founding a Hindu University at Benares, started by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the well-known leader from the United Provinces, and Sir Rameshwar Singh, the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The Hindu University Act was passed in 1915 and the foundation-stone was laid in February, 1916, by Lord Hardinge before a large assemblage of ruling princes, landed magnates, scholars, officials and members of the general public. The Viceroy's reply to the critics of the scheme was:

"I am not terrified by the bogey of religious intolerance. Rather do I think that a deep belief in and reverence for one's own religion ought to foster a spirit of respect for the religious



M. M. Malaviya.

convictions of others and signs are not wanting that the day is drawing nigh when tolerance and mutual good will shall take the place of fanaticism and hatred."

After the outbreak of the war (1914) the Defence of India Act was passed which gave to the Governor-General wide powers for securing the public safety and defence of the country.



The Benares Hindu University.

The European war broke out in 1914 and soon assumed formidable proportions. It was brought about by the rivalries and ambitions of the European Powers. But the immediate cause was the murder of the Archduke of Austria and his wife in the capital of Bosnia. The men who did the deed were Austrian subjects but Serbians by race. Serbia was held responsible for the crime and on July 23, 1914, an ultimatum was issued by Austria. War began and almost all the countries of Europe joined in it. England, France, Belgium, Italy, America and Greece were on one side and Germany, Austria, Turkey, Bulgaria and some small states on the other. India offered her best help in men and money to support the cause of right and justice. Meetings were held all over the country.

European
War (1914-
1919)

in which all sections of the population expressed their desire to stand by the Empire in the hour of need. Indian troops fought side by side with those of the colonies on the battle-fields of France, Flanders, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia and gave proof of their valour. The ruling Princes of India gave generous assistance and many of them offered their services. When Lord Hardinge retired in 1916, his successor Lord Chelmsford dealt with the later phases of the war with success. India's loyalty and help made a great impression in England and in 1917 the Secretary of State made the historic declaration in Parliament that the object of British policy in India was the gradual establishment of responsible government.*

Two Indian representatives, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha took part in the Imperial War Conference in 1917 and later in the Peace Conference. The war was closed by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Lord Morley's reforms had satisfied the moderate section but the leaders of the forward school still disapproved of mild methods. The new Councils functioned and both the Hindus and Muslims seemed to be satisfied with their work. Agitation
for
Reform
(1909-19).

Mr. Gokhale died in 1915 and his death was a great blow to the Indian cause. When the Congress met at Bombay with Sir S. P. Sinha as President, India's war services were mentioned, and the goal of Indian politics was stated to be government of the people for the people and by the people. Mrs.

*The Declaration is as follows :—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing associations of Indians in every branch of administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.

Annie Besant started the Home Rule League in 1916 and carried on propaganda through her paper the *New India*. She was joined by Mr. Tilak who lent his powerful support to the League. At the Lucknow Congress in 1916 both wings of the Congress were united, and attempts were also made to compose the Hindu and Muslim differences. The resolution on Self-Government was supported by leaders of both parties. The Muslim League, which also met at Lucknow under the Presidency of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, declared Self-Government within the Empire as the goal of the political aims of the Muslim community. A joint session of the Congress and the League endorsed the demand for Self-Government.

In 1917 the Home Rule agitation became very active and Mr. Besant was interned by the Madras Government with two of her fellow-workers. There was much public indignation and the veteran lady was elected President of the Congress which was going to be held at Calcutta. It was at this time that the moderates lost control over the Congress and organised themselves into the Liberal Federation.

The appreciation of India's war services led to Mr. Montagu's Declaration of 1917 which defined responsible government as the goal of British policy in India. Mr. Montagu came out to India the same year to discuss the reform proposals with the Viceroy, the leading officials and the leaders of Indian opinion. After six months' hard work they prepared a report which contained proposals about constitutional changes. These proposals were finally embodied in the Government of India Bill which was passed in December, 1919.

The object of the Government of India Act was to give some measure of responsibility to the representatives elected by the people. It made changes in the constitution of the Government. The Council of the Secretary of State was not abolished, but the number of Indian members on it was

increased. The Viceroy's Executive Council was also enlarged. The old Supreme Legislative Council was enlarged by two chambers—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State was a revising body which consisted of 60 members of whom 26 were nominated by the Governor-General. The Legislative Assembly was the Lower House with a majority of elected members. The Assembly was given power to pass the budget or totally reject the demands for grants. Direct election was introduced.

The provincial Councils were enlarged and the provincial governments were divided into two parts—the Reserved and the Transferred. The Reserved subjects were under the control of the members of the Governor's Executive Council and the transferred subjects were entrusted to ministers appointed from among the elected members of the Legislative Council.

Special representation was provided for various communities, races and interests, and direct election was introduced. The Franchise was considerably widened.

Shortly after the new scheme of reforms a Chamber of Princes was established at Delhi with the object of discussing matters of common interest affecting the Princes. It is presided over by the Viceroy. It is a deliberative body and its recommendations are not binding on the Government of India.

But before the reforms could produce their full effect, the country was stirred by a new movement which engrossed the attention of the people as well as the Government.

The new Constitution was inaugurated by the Duke of Cannaught in January-February, 1921.

In 1917 Lord Chelmsford announced the appointment of a Commission to hold an enquiry into the conditions and prospects of the University of Calcutta under the president-ship of Sir M. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the Leeds University. The Commission made important recommendations for

The
Calcutta
University
Commission.

reorganisation of Higher Education and laid stress upon research work.

The Birth
of Non-co-
operation.

The Congress nationalists denounced the reform scheme and refused to have anything to do with it. The passing of the



M. K. Gandhi.

Rowlatt Bills intended to punish revolutionary crime caused much discontent in the country. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi, who had fought and worked for Indians in South Africa, came into prominence at this time, and started agitation against the 'Black Bills,' and advised the people to non-co-operate with the Government. This new form of protest called

Satyagrah was a doctrine of soul-force. A passive resister's duty was to suffer patiently and to meet tyranny or wrong with soul-force. Truth, non-violence and absence of all ill-will or hatred formed his creed. He was not to use violence even against his enemies. Disturbances occurred in several places but the most serious was that in the Punjab where martial law was proclaimed by the authorities. All this was due to the arrest of two local leaders at Amritsar. A meeting, held in the Jallianwala Bagh, was dispersed by General Dyer who fired at the unoffending crowd and killed a large number of men. The Hunter Committee, appointed by Government to look into the conduct of Punjab officials, declared Dyer's action to be an error of judgment. To protect officers against proceedings in courts of law an

Indemnity Bill was passed by the Supreme Legislative Council in the teeth of nationalist opposition.

Agitation grew stronger and the special Congress held at Calcutta (September, 1920) defined the programme of non-co-operation. It contained (1) the giving up of the titles, (2) the boycott of British goods, (3) the withdrawal of children from Government schools, (4) and the boycott of British courts, Government services and elections to the Legislatures.

Lord Chelmsford retired in April, 1921 and was succeeded by Lord Reading.

Amir Habibullah was murdered on the 20th February, 1919, by his enemies. His eldest son Inayatullah gave up his claim to the throne in favour of the Amir's brother Nasrullah and the latter became the ruler of Afghanistan. But Habibullah's younger sons did not approve of these proceedings, and after sitting on the throne for a short period, Nasrullah had to make room for Amanullah, a younger son of Habibullah. Amanullah soon became a favourite of the army. He held a Durbar and sentenced Nasrullah and Inayatullah to transportation for life.

The Afghan War
(1919-21).

Taking advantage of the unrest that prevailed in India owing to the Rowlatt Bills, the Afghans invaded the Khaibar but they were defeated by the British troops. A treaty was made (February 21, 1921) by which the independence of Afghanistan was recognised, and the Amir accepted the Anglo-Afghan Frontiers.

Amanullah tried to turn Afghanistan into a modern country but his reforms were disliked by the Afghans. He was overthrown by a usurper Baccha Saqao, a man of low origin, who seized power with the help of the troops. He was killed after some time, and Nadir Khan, the general of the Afghan forces, was elected king in 1929. He restored order in the country but he was assassinated and was succeeded by his son.

Chronological Summary

	A.D.
The Muslim deputation waits on the Viceroy ...	1906
Split in the Indian National Congress at Surat ...	1907
Seditious Meetings Act	1907
Minto-Morley Reforms	1909
Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill ...	1910
The Indian Press Act	1910
The Imperial visit	1911
The Public Services Commission	1912
The Indian Currency Commission	1913
Outbreak of the European War	1914
The Benares Hindu University Act	1925
Foundation-stone of the Hindu University laid by Lord Hardinge	1916
Mr. E. S. Montagu's Declaration	1917
The Calcutta University Commission	1917
Treaty of Versailles	1919
The Rowlatt Bills	1919
Government of India Act	1919
Murder of Amir Habibullah	1919
Beginning of the Non-co-operation Movement ...	1920
The Afghan War	1919-21

(5) The New Methods of Agitation and Responsible
Government (1920—35)

The Non-co-operation movement made rapid progress.

Lord
Reading's
difficulties.

The Congress chalked out its programme and laid stress on Khaddar and spinning. Riots broke out in several places. The Mopla rebellion (August, 1921) in Malabar led to fearful atrocities. The Chauri Chaura (Gorakhpur district) tragedy followed by riots in Madras and Bombay resulted in

deeds of terrible cruelty. In March, 1922, Mr. Gandhi was arrested and tried for sedition. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment though the judge regretted that he had to deal in such a manner with a man of Mr. Gandhi's high character and ideals.

The movement suffered a heavy set-back. Mahatma Gandhi was released after two years but serious differences arose in the Congress on the question of Council entry. Mr. C. R. Das, the well-known Calcutta lawyer, urged entry into councils with a view to wreck the Government from inside, and he was supported by Pandit Motilal Nehru, another Congress leader from Allahabad. The Swaraj party was formed in 1923 and the Congress which met at Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. Muhammad Ali passed a resolution in favour of Council entry. At this time communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims assumed a dreadful form and riots occurred in the Punjab, United Provinces and Central Provinces. The most serious riot was in Kohat (Punjab) which resulted in great loss to the Hindus. Mr. Gandhi observed a fast of 21 days as an act of penance, and a unity conference was held at Delhi but to no purpose. The influence of the Swaraj party increased in the Congress. The Government adopted a policy of repression and passed the Bengal ordinance by which many respectable and educated men were thrown into prison. In June, 1925, Mr. C. R. Das, the Swarajist leader, died and his place was taken by Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The Inchcape Committee (1922) suggested retrenchment in various items of expenditure. The salt tax was raised despite the protests of the Legislative Assembly. In 1922 Mr. (afterwards Rt. Hon'ble) Sri Nivas Shastri was deputed to enquire into the condition of Indians living in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. He made a good impression upon the Colonial governments and obtained a promise for

improving the lot of Indians. The recruiting of labourers for work out of India was prohibited except with the approval of the Government of India. The Lee Commission (1923) made proposals for improving the prospects of Indian Civil Servants. The Princes' Protection Bill gave security to Princes against attacks in the Press.

The Government granted some military concessions to Indians. The King's commissions were opened to them and ten seats were reserved for them in the military college at Sandhurst. A military college was also established at Dehradun.

A powerful agitation was set on foot in the Punjab in 1920 to reform the Sikh Gurdwaras (temples). The Akalis organised themselves and began to interfere with their management. Serious trouble occurred when the Akalis resorted to passive resistance and defied the authorities. In 1923 a dispute between the Patiala and Nabha Durbars led to the abdication of his throne by the Maharaja of Nabha. The administration was assumed by the British Government and the Maharaja was asked to reside at Dehradun.

The Reform
Enquiry
Committee
(1924).

The Swaraj party in the Legislative Assembly urged a revision of the constitution of 1919. A committee of enquiry was appointed in 1924 under the presidentship of Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member of the Government of India. The Committee submitted its report in 1925. The minority report, signed by Dr. (now Rt. Hon'ble) Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and others pressed for the grant of responsible government.

Retirement
of Lord
Reading.

In April, 1926, Lord Reading retired and was succeeded by Lord Irwin now Lord Halifax. The new Viceroy on his arrival found the country full of discontent and despair. The communal tension was at its height and the faith of the Congress in the sincerity of British declarations had practically disappeared.

The national demand made by the Legislative Assembly in 1925 was not heeded by the British Cabinet but in 1927 they appointed a Commission consisting entirely of Englishmen under the Presidentship of Sir John Simon to examine the question of constitutional reform. The nationalist Indians boycotted the commission, and men of note refused to give evidence before it. A manifesto was issued by Sir (afterwards Rt. Hon'ble) Tej Bahadur Sapru and others demanding a Commission of Britishers and Indians. The boycott continued and mistrust was increased at this time by the publication of Miss Katharine Mayo's *Mother India* which contained a vile attack upon the social customs of both Hindus and Muslims. The Madras Congress (1927) supported the boycott.

Lord Irwin tried to assure the people of India that Government wanted to fulfil the pledge given, and that the goal of British policy was the attainment of Dominion Status. He proposed also a Round Table Conference in London to discuss India's constitution. But the debates in Parliament caused doubt in Indian minds, and some leaders of the Congress waited upon the Viceroy and told him that the object of the Round Table Conference should be not to judge of India's fitness for self-government but to frame a dominion constitution. The Viceroy did not agree to this, and when the Lahore Congress met in December, 1929, under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it asserted complete independence as the goal of the Congress. The struggle began afresh and civil disobedience was started (1930). Mr. Gandhi marched to the sea-shore to break the salt laws which were defied all over the country and thousands of men were thrown into prison. The movement was joined by women and they also went to jail like men. Boycott of foreign goods, and picketing of liquor shops went on, and trade was seriously disturbed. At this time was published the Report of

the Simon Commission but it met with scant approval. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar tried to bring about peace between the Government and the Congress but their efforts proved unavailing.

The First Round Table Conference met in London in (November, 1930). The Maharaja of Bikaner on behalf of the Princes declared their willingness to enter into a federation with British India. The chief results of the conference were summed up by Sir (now Rt. Hon'ble) Tej Bahadur Sapru in these words:—(1) The idea of an All India Federation. (2) The idea of responsibility at the centre. (3) India must be prepared in the years to come to defend herself.

The Congress kept aloof from the first Round Table Conference and took no part in it. But soon after Government unconditionally released the political prisoners and the Irwin-Gandhi pact was concluded on the 31st March, 1931. The Civil Disobedience movement was called off and Government agreed to grant amnesty to political prisoners. Thus was harmony created by Lord Irwin's statesmanship.

Administra-
tive
measures.

Lord Irwin was a statesman who handled India's problems with courage and sympathy. He tried to promote good will among the various classes and pleaded for better communal relations.

The Skeen Committee submitted its report in 1927 and recommended the employment of Indians in the officers' ranks in the army. The Butler Committee appointed to examine the relations between the Indian States and the Paramount Power reaffirmed the right of the latter to interfere in their affairs when the public interests demanded it. It refused to recognise that the states were independent units when they came in contact with the British power.

Lord Irwin was keenly interested in agriculture. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1927 under the presidency of the Marquess of Linlithgow to report on the

condition of agriculture and suggest measures of improvement. It recommended the establishment of an Imperial Council of Research to guide and advise all other agricultural bodies. Its primary function was to encourage agricultural research in the country.

Lord Irwin resigned in 1931 and was succeeded by Lord Willingdon who had ample experience of Indian conditions.

The Congress decided to take part in the Second Round Table Conference which met in London and Mahatma Gandhi went to represent its cause along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The Viceroy firmly suppressed the Civil Disobedience Movement and in January, 1932, Mr. Gandhi and his fellow workers were thrown into prison again. Steps were taken to stamp out the movement and special ordinances were passed to bring it under control.

Lord Willingdon (1931-36).

The proposals of reform continued to be discussed. When the communities failed to come to an agreement on the question of representation, the Prime Minister gave his award which is known as the Communal Award. The Hindus were dissatisfied with it and agitation was started to have it modified. The Third Round Table Conference met in November, 1932, and its proposals were embodied in the White Paper which was published in 1933.

His Majesty's Government has now passed a Government of India Act which makes provision for a Federal Government at the Centre and full autonomy in the Provinces.

The Federation will consist of British India that is to say the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the Indian States which have agreed to enter into it. The Federal Executive shall consist of the Governor-General and a Council of Ministers to be chosen from among the members of the Federal legislature. There are several matters in respect of which the Governor-General has

The New Constitution (1935).

special responsibility and they are set forth in the Act. Even in matters in which he has to consult his ministers he may differ from them and act on his own judgment if the circumstances so require. The Federal Legislature shall consist of two Chambers to be called the Council of State and the House of Assembly. In both houses seats shall be allotted to the representatives of Indian States. The members shall choose from among themselves a President and a Speaker to preside over meetings. The subjects with which the Federal Legislature will deal are defined in the Act.

The Simon Commission recommended that the transfer of power begun by the Government of India Act of 1919 should be completed, and each province should be 'as far as possible mistress in her own house.' The new Government of India Act of 1935 accepts the establishment of Provincial Autonomy. The provincial Executive will be selected like the Federal Executive from among the members of the Legislature and will hold office at the Governor's pleasure. The Provincial legislature will consist of two Chambers in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the U.P., Behar and Assam and of one in the other Provinces. The two Chambers will be known as the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. As regards franchise there will be separate electorates for special interests. The term of the Legislative Assemblies shall be five years. The Legislative Councils are to be permanent bodies but one-third of their members will retire every third year. The Chambers will elect their own Presidents. The electorate both in the urban and rural areas has been considerably enlarged by the extension of the franchise. To enable women to play their due part as educated citizens the right of vote has been conceded to them.

Under this Act a Federal Court has been established consisting of a Chief Justice of India and such other judges as His Majesty may consider necessary. The Federal Court

has original jurisdiction in any dispute between the Federation, any of the provinces or any of the states that have joined the Federation. if the dispute involves any question on which the existence of a legal right depends. There are several matters from which the jurisdiction of the Federal Court is excluded. On questions of law appeals will lie from the decisions of High Courts to the Federal Court. In certain cases appeals will lie from the Federal Court to the Privy Council.

The Joint Select Committee pointed out that under a system of responsible government in India the Council of the Secretary of State would no longer be necessary. The Government of India Act provides that the Council of India shall be dissolved and that any rights or jurisdiction formerly exercised by the Secretary of State or by the Secretary of State in Council shall vest in the Crown.

In January, 1936, King George V died after a brief illness. His death was universally mourned throughout the empire. He was succeeded by his eldest son under the title of Edward VIII. But unfortunately the new King had to abdicate the throne in December, 1936, owing to his projected marriage with a certain American lady Mrs. Simpson, which Parliament would not allow. He was succeeded by his younger brother, the Duke of York, under the title of George VI. The ex-King now lives in France and enjoys the title of Duke of Windsor.

Lord Willingdon retired in 1936 and was succeeded by Lord Linlithgow who had come out to India before as Chairman of the Royal Agricultural Commission. Ever since he assumed the reins of office he has taken a keen interest in the welfare of the agricultural classes and has done much to stimulate agriculture, dairy-farming and cattle-breeding. The elections of 1937 were held under the new constitution and in seven provinces the Congress secured

Death of
King
George V.

Lord
Willing-
don's retire-
ment.

a majority. As a result of this Congress ministries were formed in these provinces and they discharged their duties with great devotion, energy and enthusiasm. Several schemes for the uplift of rural areas and the amelioration of the condition of the poor people were undertaken by them and there was no department of state-activity which did not feel the influence of their industry, enthusiasm and solicitude for popular welfare. Lord Linlithgow adopted a sympathetic attitude towards the ideals of nationalist Indians and his wise and sagacious statesmanship enabled the Congress to work the constitution. Mahatma Gandhi, though technically not a member of the Congress, is the most powerful personality in Indian politics and there is none throughout the country who sways the hearts of millions as he does.

The outbreak of the war in Europe has produced a serious effect on Indian politics. The Congress ministries have resigned and in at least seven provinces government is carried on by the Governors and their advisers who are all officials.

Chronological Summary.

			A.D.
Moplah Rebellion	...	...	1921
Mahatma Gandhi's historic trial	...	...	1922
The Inchcape Committee	...	...	1922
The Lee Commission	...	...	1923
Deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha		...	1923
The Muddiman Committee	...	...	1924
Retirement of Lord Reading	...	...	1924

	A.D.
Appointment of the Simon Commission	1927
Royal Commission of Agriculture	1927
The First Round Table Conference	1930
Retirement of Lord Irwin	1931
Publication of the White Paper	1933
The Government of India Act	1935
Death of King George V	1936
Lord Linlithgow is appointed as Viceroy	April, 1936

CHAPTER XXXVIII

LIFE AND LETTERS AFTER THE MUTINY (1858—1935).

Characteris-
tics of the
Modern
Age.

The advent of the British in India and the introduction of Western culture changed men's outlook. The influence of Christianity was also felt and Raja Ram Mohan Roy rejected caste and idolatry and founded the Brahmo Samaj in opposition to the ideals of Hinduism. His work was carried on by Keshava Chandra Sen who impressed all by his fervour, eloquence and devotion. A similar theistic movement began in the Maharashtra and led to the foundation of the Prarthanā Samaj which aimed at rational worship and social reform. It tried to spread education among the people and work for the elevation of the depressed classes. Its greatest leaders were Sir R. S. Bhandarkar and M. G. Ranade, a High Court Judge of great ability, patriotism and character. The latter suggested the holding of a social conference along with the Indian National Congress, and in his address chalked out wide and far-reaching reforms in society. He was a great believer in education and was one of the chief promoters of the Deccan Education Society (1884) which contained among its members such men as Gokhale, Tilak and Agarkar. The society started a school which is now the Fergusson College at Poona and which owes its success to the self-sacrifice and devotion of members of the Education Society. In 1905 Mr. Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society, a body of devoted workers, in the field of political and social uplift. His object was to spiritualise public life and to call forth the highest qualities of his countrymen in the service of the motherland.

The Theosophical Society (1875), the Arya Samaj (1875) and the Ram Krishna Mission have also done a great deal to

awaken the national spirit of the people. Mrs. Annie Besant expressed Hindu ideals in a new garb and Swami Vivekanand and Ram Tiratha impressed all by their spirituality and religious fervour. Swami Dayanand Saraswati in his *Satyārtha Prakāsh* put forward a new interpretation of the Vedic religion and condemned superstitious rites and ceremonies. His followers worked with great zeal to break the rigidity of caste, to educate women and to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes. Other forces also worked to the same end. Scientific education, foreign travel, the impact of western ideas, all changed men's outlook and reason came to be regarded as more important than custom or dogma.

Caste was powerful till the first half of the 19th century. Indeed the crisis of 1857 was due to the suspicion that caste was in danger. But owing to western education caste began to lose its rigidity. The railways did much to lessen its rigour and Brahmanas, Muslims and Christians all travelled together in Railway carriages without fear of pollution. The Indian National Conference year after year pleaded for the amelioration of women and the depressed classes, better harmony among castes and the removal of social abuses like child-marriage and enforced widowhood. The Depressed Classes Mission Society founded in 1906, has done much for the uplift of the depressed classes. The Hindu Mahasabha at its session held at Benares in 1923 passed a resolution in favour of admitting untouchables to the privileges of Hinduism. Through Mahatma Gandhi's efforts much of the prejudice against the so-called depressed classes is wearing off, and both Government and the people are doing their best to improve their condition. In many parts of the country they have been admitted into temples for worship with the other Hindus. The old restrictions in the matter of eating and drinking have become lax and the habits of life have considerably changed. Inter-caste marriages have also

Social
condition.

become common and carry no odium with them. Child-marriage has now been penalised by the Sarda Act (1930) which fixes the age of marriage for boys at 18 and girls at 14.

The widow remarriage movement found a staunch supporter in the well-known Bengalee Social reformer and philanthropist Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and through his efforts a law was passed which legalised the marriage of widows. In modern times much has been done to afford help to widows. All over the country widows' homes, Sevashadans and Ashrams have been established for giving them relief. But widow remarriage in high caste Hindu families is still rare though opposition to it is neither serious nor effective.

Mahatma Gandhi's movement has greatly influenced social life. His ideals of simplicity and asceticism have made a powerful appeal to all classes of people. Dress has been considerably simplified and the manners and habits have also undergone a change.

-Status of
woman.

Of late the women of India have become conscious of their rights. In 1917 a deputation of women waited upon Mr. Montague in Madras and presented an address in which they demanded representation in Legislatures. The All India Women's Conference which met for the first time in 1926 expressed the demands of women and suggested measures for the improvement of their status in society. The Lady Dufferin Fund has been utilised to supply women doctors, nurses and midwives, and hospitals and medical colleges have been established to give them training in medicine. The Lady Hardinge Medical College at Delhi is a well known institution which prepares women for the degree of M.B., B.S. There are many other non-official institutions where women are trained for Social Service. The most notable of these are the Chittaranjan Sevashadan of Calcutta and

the Sevasadan of Poona which go to show what noble work can be done by women. Prof. Karve's University for women has trained a large number of women who have done much to spread light and knowledge among their sisters. Pardah is fast disappearing. In social and political work men and women are seen working side by side. Among women there are teachers who have been trained in Europe. Educated girls have begun to marry by choice and some of them have adopted the profession of the stage. Music and dancing are assiduously cultivated and some of the women have achieved world-wide fame.

The position of Muslim women has also greatly improved in recent times. In 1914 an All-India Muslim Ladies' Conference was organised, and in 1924 it passed a resolution which suggested a number of social reforms. Among educated women the Pardah has greatly relaxed and there are many who have taken up the work of education and social reform in great earnestness.

India is still a land of many religions and Buddhism, Religion, Jainism, Islam, Christianity—all have their adherents here, but the dominant religion of the people is Hinduism. It has always been a reforming creed. At no time in history has it refused to lessen its rigidity. In the 19th century it modified its tenets under the influence of protestant movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the like. Besides the principal religions there are many sects of modern origin among which the most notable is the Radha Swami sect founded by Swami Sheo Dayal Singh of Agra and later sect founded by Swami Sheo Dayal Singh of Agra and later Master General of the United Provinces. According to this sect the guru is supreme and nothing is too great or good for him. The Dayalbagh, the centre of the Radhaswami sect at Agra, has now grown into an industrial town, and possesses an educational institution besides factories and agricultural

and dairy farms. The popular Hinduism consists in the worship of Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Shakti and Ganesh. The cows and Brahmanas are universally revered throughout the country. The Ganges is also worshipped and thousands still walk long distances to have a bath in its sacred waters. The modern educated Hindu does not always follow the observances of Hinduism and his growing indifference towards religion is a marked feature of our society. But the masses are deeply religious. The law of *Karma* and the future life has a meaning for them which it is difficult for foreigners to realise.

Muslims.

The British rule had in the beginning a depressing effect upon the Muslims. They were excluded from positions of power and influence and their place was taken by Europeans. Naturally there was much resentment among the nobility as well as the ordinary folk and Maulvis condemned the system of education introduced by the English. But a change was brought about in the political and religious outlook of the Muslims by the teachings of Sir Saiyyad Ahmad (1817—78)—a Muslim leader of great ability and foresight—who exhorted his co-religionists to study western literature and science. He started the Aligarh Movement and in spite of abuses and threats succeeded in founding the Anglo-Muhammedan Oriental College at Aligarh (1875) which has now grown into a University. He laid stress upon social reform and through his magazine the *Tahzib-i-Akhlaq* criticised the orthodox views about education and *Pardah*. The Aligarh movement exercised a profound influence on the life and thought of the Muslim community. It made them forget their defeats and failures. Instead of brooding over the past with its vanished glories, they now turned their gaze to the future and like other communities strove for progress and distinction.

Among Sir Saiyyad's fellow-workers was Maulvi Shibli

Numani (1857—1914) who founded in 1890 at Lucknow a society called the *Nadwat-ul-Ulama* and five years later this society established an academy at Azamgarh known as the *Darul Islam* which has for its main purpose the training of teachers. This academy has done excellent work for the conservation of Muslim learning.

In the middle of the 19th century a new movement appeared in India. This was the Ahmadiya sect. The founder of the Ahmadiya movement was Mirza Gulam Ahmad Qadiani (1839—1908) who was born in the Punjab in a respectable Mughal family. He was a purely religious reformer. He felt that he was called upon to undertake a divine mission and initiated followers and disciples. He claimed to be a Mehdi or world-teacher, condemned the Mullahs who kept the people in darkness and deplored the popular worship of saints and visits to tombs and shrines. He sought to revive true Islam but upheld the *Pardah* and staunchly defended divorce and polygamy. He was looked upon as a heretic by the orthodox section and was excommunicated. Followers of the Ahmadiya sect are found in all parts of India, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan and other Muslim lands. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad died in 1908 and since then the affairs of the community have been managed by a Khalifah who lives at Qadian.

Another movement of which a brief mention may be made is the Wahabi sect which was founded in Arabia in the 18th century by Muhammad Abdul Wahāb. He laid stress on *tauhid* (unity of God), opposed the worship of saints and refused to recognise the right of the individual to interpret the Quran and the Hadis. These ideas first came into India about 1804. The number of the followers of the sect is very small.

Since Sir Saiyyad Ahmad's time there have been liberal Muslims like Maulvi Chiragh Ali and Saiyyad Amir Ali

who tried to interpret the ideals of Islam in a new light. The latest exponent of Islamic thought is the well known Punjabi poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

During the Great European War the fate of the Khilafat aroused much interest among Indian Muslims. A Khilafat Committee was formed at Bombay and funds were raised with which a national University was started. The chief promoters of the movement were Maulana Muhammad Ali, a distinguished scholar and publicist, and Abdul Majid Khwaja. When the Turkish Caliphate was abolished in 1924, the real work of the Khilafat Committee was also finished.

The Muslims of India are divided into two principal communities—the Sunnis and the Shias. The masses live very much like their Hindu neighbours. The Holi and Devali are observed in villages even by Muslims. The Basant Panchmi was adopted by the Shia rulers of Oudh as the day of Nauroz celebration. In the rural areas even to-day the joint family prevails and pardah is not strictly observed. Caste has influenced Muslim society also and in some parts of the country the division into Shaikh, Saiyyad, Mughal and Pathan is observed. But the glory of Islam consists in the unity and brotherhood of its followers. Inside a mosque all distinctions of birth, rank and wealth disappear, and the beggar, the sweeper and the Prince are seen worshipping their common God side by side.

Agriculture. India is principally an agricultural country. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of her population depends on this industry alone. With the decay of our cottage industries due to the competition of cheap machine-made goods of the foreign countries, the pressure on land has considerably increased. The Railways were opened to join the ports with the hinterland. The result was that India's foreign trade developed at the expense of the inland trade. The area of cultivation particularly of products

required for the foreign markets e.g., cotton, indigo, jute, tea, etc., increased.

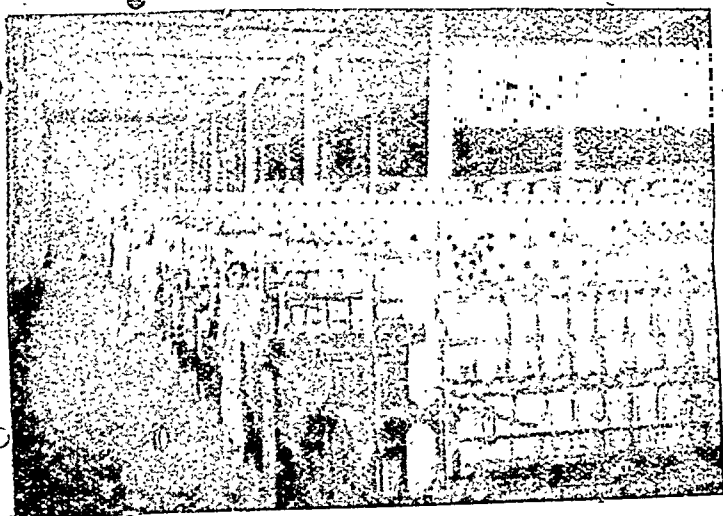
The standard of production of the Indian cultivator is very low. He is intelligent, thrifty and laborious but owing to his poverty and ignorance he cannot benefit by the modern knowledge. He is, as a rule, deeply indebted. The Government has passed legislation to save him from the clutches of usurious money-lenders. The co-operative department has achieved little success so far. At the recommendation of the Agricultural Commission (1928) an Imperial Council of agricultural research was established which has taken steps to improve agriculture. The chief defect in our agriculture is the precariousness of monsoons. The cultivator is never sure of the rains and is rendered quite helpless in times of drought. But Government has provided irrigation facilities and large tracts of land have been made fertile by canals. The Sukkur Barrage is the greatest work of its kind in the world. It cost 20 crores of rupees and commands an area of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. Electricity has also been introduced as a means of developing agriculture.

Famines were frequent in the latter half of the 19th century and caused much suffering to the population. The report of the MacDonnell Commission published in 1901 made many suggestions for affording famine relief and provincial famine codes were made. The last great famine was in 1907-8 in the U. P. but its hardship was much mitigated by the valuable work done by officials and non-officials.

India in the 18th century was an agricultural as well as a manufacturing country. But the downfall of Indian courts deprived the skilled workman of his chief market, and the introduction of cheap machine-made goods made his position still more difficult. Down to the beginning of the 19th century used to make enough cloth not only to meet her own demands but also to export a good portion of them to foreign

Trade and Industries.

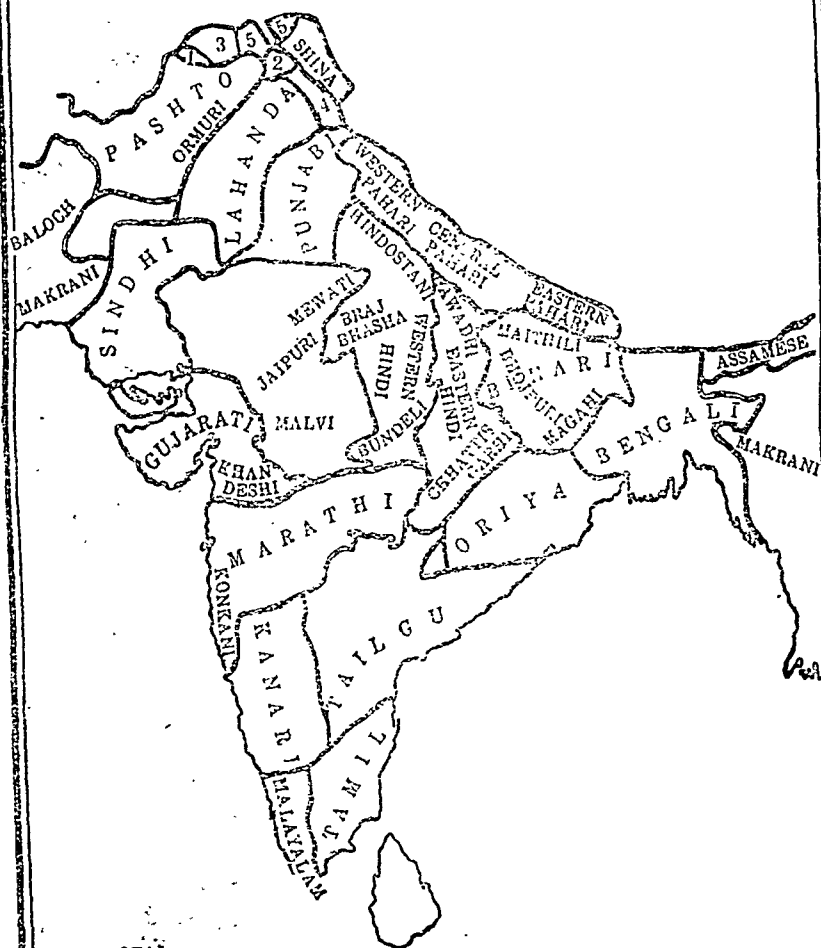
countries. Our export trade consisted mainly of manufactures and the Deccan Muslim and brocades found a good market in European countries. But the policy of the East India Company worked to the great disadvantage of Indian industries and gradually all our arts and crafts were seriously affected by foreign competition.



A Cotton Mill.

After the mutiny the nature of trade and industry changed. For example, the cotton industry that was crushed in the first fifties was re-established in the land and within 20 years it became a rival to the English manufactures. The first impetus came from the American Colonial War (1861—65). During the Crimean War our jute industry began and made steady progress. Agriculture was commercialised. India began to produce not only for the home market but also for international markets. She produced crops like cotton, jute, tea, coffee, rubber, wheat and seeds in increas-

India, its Languages



1. PASHAI
2. KOHISTA
3. PERSIAN LANGUAGES
4. KASHMIRI
5. KHOWAR

ing quantities for the world markets. Then the volume, character and direction of trade changed particularly after 1869, when the Suez Canal was opened. The chief factors that affected the trade and industry of the country during this period were:—(1) the improved means of communication and facilities of transport and their effect on production and distribution, (2) the movement towards free trade, (3) the peace and order established by British rule in India, (4) and lastly the efforts of European countries like Germany and France to serve the Indian markets.

The first fourteen years of the 20th century witnessed a remarkable expansion of the foreign trade of India especially after 1905. The Great War gave an impetus to our industrial development. The Industrial Commission recommended measures for the development of Indian industries. Artificial stimulus was given to industries till cotton, jute, leather, iron and steel, and even indigo cultivation revived.

After the cessation of war there was a period of boom (1913—20) due to shortage of supplies in all countries followed by depression in 1921—23. The period between 1924—29 was a period of trade recovery and general improvement.

The spread of western education and culture has given a great impetus to the literary movement in India. Men, educated in modern Universities, have produced books in English on a variety of subjects which it is impossible to detail here. The study of classics, namely, Sanskrit and Persian has greatly suffered owing to the rise of the vernaculars. Literature.

Both Hindi and Urdu have made a considerable advance during this period. Swami Dayanand Saraswati in his well-known work the *Satyārtha Prakāsh* laid emphasis on the study of Hindi by every Arya. Raja Shiva Prasad and Raja Lakshman Singh were the pioneers of early prose. The

latter translated into Hindi Kalidasa's well-known drama *Abhijnān Shākuntala* which is still read with interest. Bbartendu Harish Chandra of Benares was a great poet. He wrote prose with equal ease and made the Hindi language sweet and elegant. He died in 1885 but his contemporaries Badri Narayan Chaudhri, Pratap Narayan Misra, Balkrishna Bhatta and others carried on his work. In 1903 was founded through the efforts of B. Shyam Sundar Das, the well-known Hindi Scholar and writer, the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, which has done a great service to the cause of Hindi language. At first the Sabha only published translations but lately several original works have been produced by it. One of the most notable prose writers of modern times is Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, the late editor of the *Saraswati*. He has written many articles and essays in a pithy and vigorous style. Other essayists of this period are Babu Shyam Sundar Das and the Misra-Bandhus whose History of Hindi literature is deservedly famous. The contributions to literary criticism of Padma Singh Sharma and Krishna Behari Misra are of a high quality.

The poets of modern Hindi are divided into two schools—the advocates of what is known as the *Khari Boli* and those of *Braj Bhasha*. The former counts among its poets Maithili Saran Gupta, Ram Charita Upadhyaya, Thakur Gopal Saran Singh and several others. The leading poet of Brij Bhasha was the late B. Jagannath Das Ratnakar whose *Uddhava Shataka* and *Gangavatarna* are poems of a high order. Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya writes with equal ease both in the Khari Boli and Braj Bhasa. His *Priya Pravās* is a work of great merit. The new poetry in Hindi is an expression of the spirit of the age and its sentiments. Among the writers of fiction Prem Chand is the most famous.

The official language of the Mughal Empire was Persian and all business was done through its medium. It was only

during the latter days of the Empire that Urdu literature made progress. Urdu poetry flourished at Lucknow, Delhi, Patna, Rampur and Haiderabad. The two most distinguished poets of the time were Ghalib and Anis. The former was a poet and philosopher who showed much originality of thought and expression, while the latter was a brilliant writer of *Marsias* or elegiacs. Among modern poets the poems of Akbar Allahabadi and Brij Narain Chakbast are widely appreciated. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is the greatest Muslim poet of the present generation. He has given a new turn to Urdu poetry and his poems are read in India as well as in other parts of the world. *Mushairas* have become the fashion of the day and there is no subject which is not touched upon in modern poetry.

In prose a new style came into vogue with Sir Saiyyad Ahmad whose motto was "more matter with less art." Other notable writers are Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad, author of the *Ab-i-Hayāt* and the *Darbar-i-Akbari* besides many other works, Hāli, the author of *Hayāt-i-Sadi* (Life of Sadi), Maulana Shibli who excelled as a poet and a prose-writer, Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi and Maulvi Zakaullah—all of whom wrote in a simple and lucid style. Among Hindu writers of Urdu the most famous names are Manohar Lal Zutshi, Sri Ram of Delhi and Daya Narayan Nigam. Among the novelists the most famous are Ratan Nath Sharshar and Abdul Halim Sharar.

In Bengal there has been a great revival of letters. Bengali prose and poetry have reached their high-water-mark in Rabindra Nath Tagore rightly called the Poet Laureate of the East. He is the author of numerous dramas, novels, stories, poems and essays. His famous poem, the *Gitanjali* won him the Nobel Prize and secured him a high place among the poets of the world. But before Rabindra Nath there were many distinguished writers of prose and

verse. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the first great novelist, and Madhusudan Dutta, the first great writer of epics, enriched greatly the literature of their mother tongue. Bankim is the author of the famous national song, the Bande



Rabindra Nath Tagore

Mataram. Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutta was a great scholar. He wrote many works in English and Bengali and his novels in his own tongue are still read with interest. Among women poets the names of Toru Dutta and Sarojini Naidu are well-known.

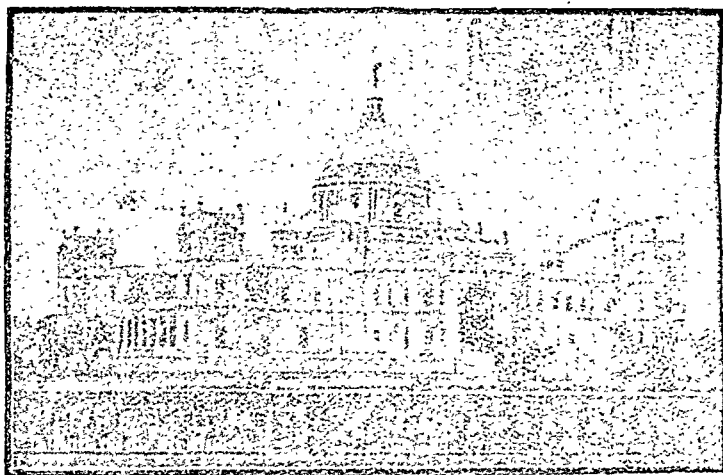
In the Maharashtra the foundations of modern Marathi prose were laid by Vishnu Shastri Chipnukar and of drama by Anna Sahib Kirloskar who was followed by Krishnaji Prabhakar, Vasudeva Shastri and others. Justices K. T. Telang and M. G. Ranade also did much for the development of Marathi literature. Other famous names in modern Marathi literature are V. K. Rajwade in the field of history, Hari Narayan Apte in fiction and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in philosophy, religion and politics.

Similar progress has been made in Gujarati and South Indian Literature. Bahramji Malabari who championed the cause of women was a writer of repute and could write both in English and Gujarati. In South India Mr. Chandu Menon wrote in 1889 his well-known novel the *Indulekhā* in the Vernacular of the Malabar Coast which is widely appreciated. The twentieth century has produced a large number of writers of prose and verse of whom it is impossible to make a detailed mention here.

The contact with the west created a new spirit of enquiry in India. In the field of science men like Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Roy and Sir C. V. Raman have achieved world-wide fame. Many scholars have tried to interpret Indian thought to the world and revealed the hidden treasures of ancient learning. Research Societies like the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bhandarkar Institute are doing useful work. Several academies have now been founded in the country to advance the cause of knowledge and research. Advancement
of Research.

With the disappearance of the Mughal Empire art declined rapidly in India. The influx of cheap and attractive European goods made the people forget the real value and beauty of their own things. The effects of the political subjection of Indians were manifest in their art. The architects, sculptors and painters forgot the principles of their own art and failed to assimilate the foreign ideals that came into the Ar.

country with the advent of British rule. The earliest Europeans lived in homes of Indian style but when the cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were founded, they built for themselves dwelling houses after the English fashion. The Indian Rajas and Nawabs imitated them and at Murshidabad and Lucknow palaces were built which tried to imitate the European style. The Chatar Manzil and the Qaisar Bagh of Lucknow built in brick and plaster and the palaces of Bengal Landlords in Calcutta are examples of this cheap and tawdry imitation.



Victoria Memorial Calcutta.

The Government paid no attention to the development of art and the buildings erected by the Public Works Department continued to show a lack of taste or appreciation of beauty. With the spread of education and the awakening of national consciousness in India efforts have been made to improve upon the existing styles. The Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta and the Assembly Hall at Delhi are illustra-



Pahari Painting.

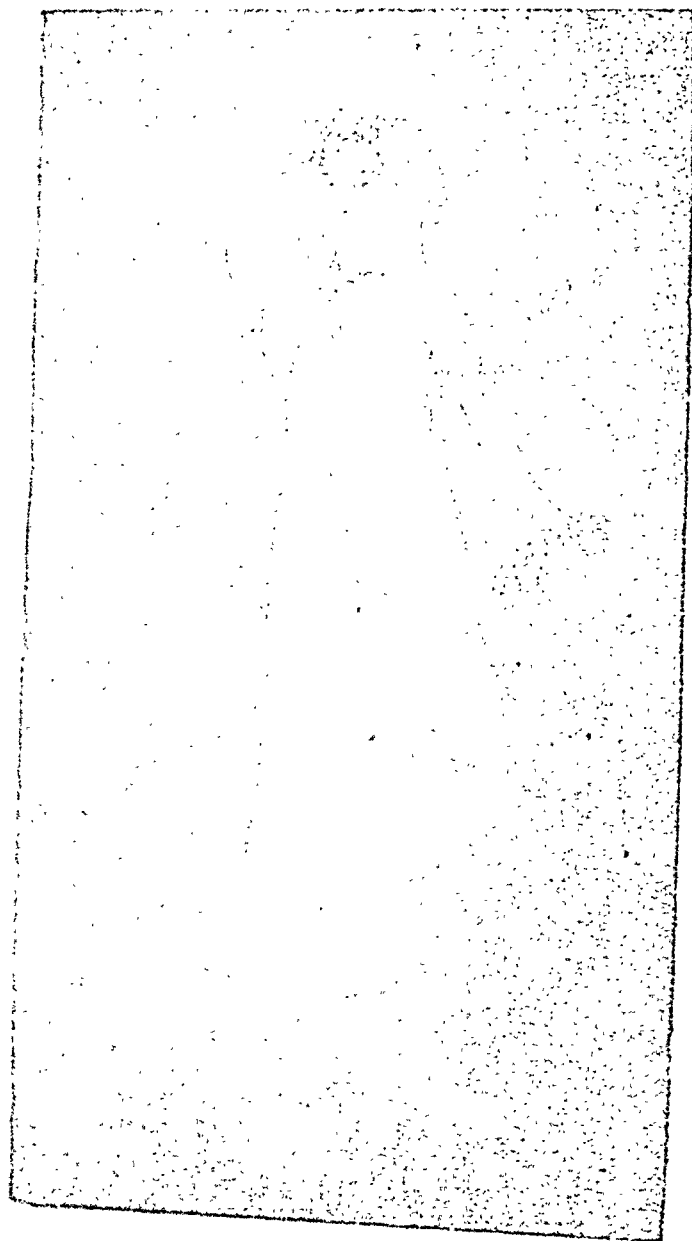
tions of the change that has come over the canons of Art even in the Building department of the State. Although even these betray lack of originality and imagination, they are certainly better than the monotonous and unattractive creations of the Public Works Department which are found throughout the country.

The Indian craftsman has not wholly lost his art. The ghats at Benares, the temples at Mathura and Jaipur, the palaces of Rajput Princes of the 19th century still testify to his brilliance of conception and exquisiteness of design. But he is fast losing his ground because he is no longer allowed to express his ideas in brick and stone. The plan is prepared for him by some one else and he is asked only to execute it. This has led to the decline of the ideals of Indian art.

Painting.

Painting also suffered from decadence like other arts. After the fall of the Mughal Empire the artists migrated to provincial courts and there continued to follow the traditions of their art. The Rajput and Pahari Schools of which mention has been made before also declined, and the influence of European art began to be felt. The works of Indian masters were replaced by cheap pictures from Europe and by paintings drawn by Indian artists who imitated western models. But a renaissance of art was brought about by E. B. Havell, Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, who expressed with great vigour and originality the ideals of Indian art. The school of painters which grew up under his influence and which was headed by Abanindra Nath Tagore tried to revive India's ancient art and sought inspiration from the art of Ajanta, China and Japan. Other names worthy of mention in this connection are those of Nand Lal Bose of Bengal and Abdur Rahman Chaghtai of the Punjab.

Dr. Solomon of Bombay is the founder of another school of painters which seeks to apply western methods to



(Pl. 11) Bharat Mata—by A. N. Tagore.

Indian conditions. Dr. Coomarswamy has been trying for many years to interpret the majesty of Indian art to the outside world. Several art schools have been established at Lahore, Jaipur, Lucknow and other places which are doing much to help the movement of Indian art.

~~extended~~

Muhammad Shah was the last Mughal Emperor who extended his patronage to music. But like other arts it remained in a neglected state after the decline of the Empire. The Indian princes and wealthy men continued to favour music but nothing was done to develop it as an art. It is only recently that music has been restored to its proper place by the Tagores in Bengal who have made it an accomplishment for all cultured men and women. Academies of music have been established in important cities and schools and colleges are doing much to revive the study and practice of Indian music. One of the latest developments is the cultivation of dancing by men and women of respectable families. It is much appreciated and encouraged by the educated classes.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

RULERS OF MAGADHA BEFORE THE MAURYAS

NAGA DYNASTY

1. Bhattiya.
2. Bimbsar Shrenik.
3. Ajatashatru.
4. Udyin.
5. Dasak.

SHISHUNAG DYNASTY

1. Shishunag.
2. Ashoka.
3. Nandivardhan.

NANDAS

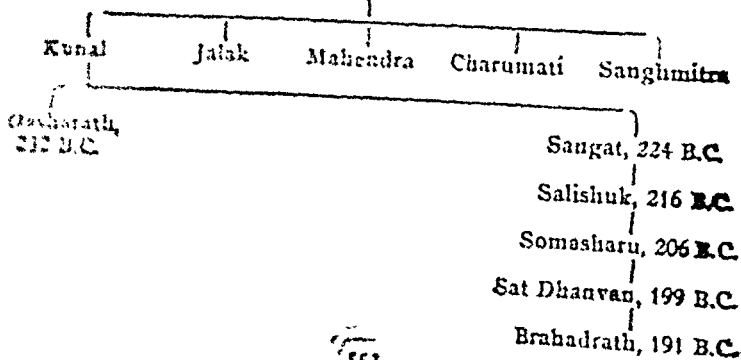
1. Mahapadmananda.
2. Sons of Mahapadma.

THE MAURYAS

Chandragupta, 322 B.C.

Bindusar, 298 B.C.

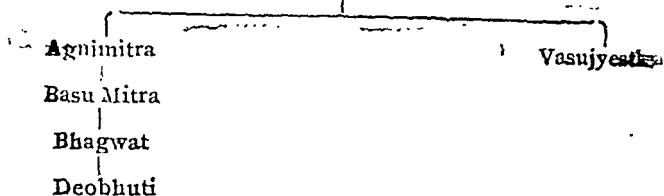
Ashoka Vardhan, 272 B.C.



HISTORY OF INDIA

SHUNG DYNASTY

Pushyamitra Shung, 185 B.C.



KUSHAN DYNASTY

Kadphises I

Kadphises II

Kaniska

Huviska

Vasudeva

GUPTA DYNASTY

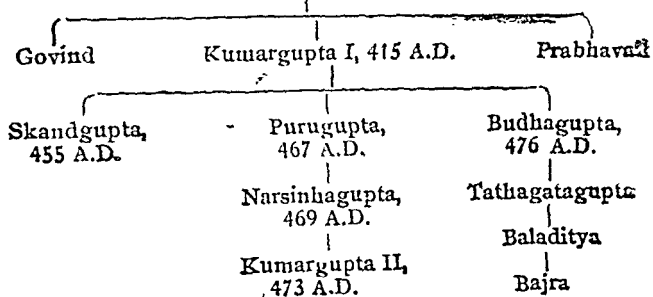
Gupta, 271 A.D.

Ghatotkacha, 290 A.D.

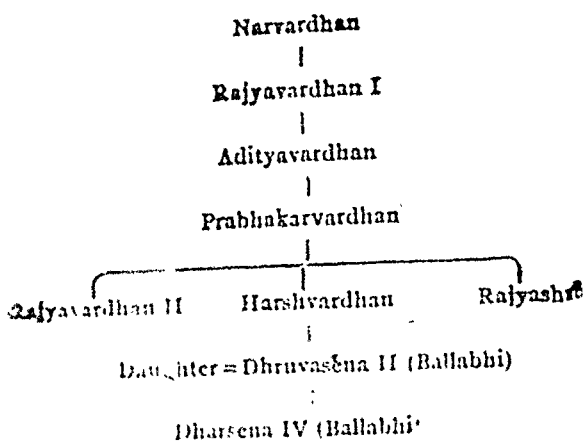
Chandragupta I, 320 A.D.

Samudragupta, 330 A.D.

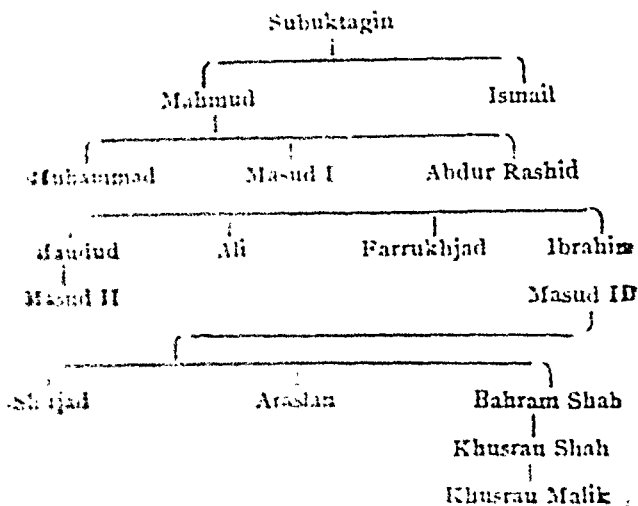
Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya), 375 A.D.



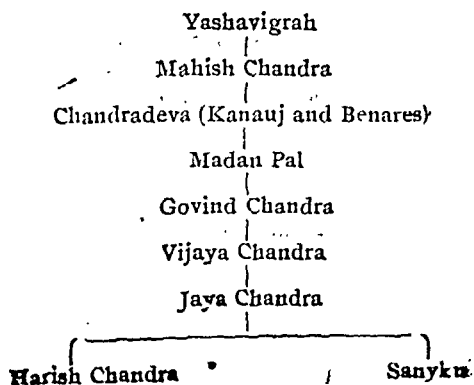
VARDHAN DYNASTY (THANESHWAR AND KANAUJ)



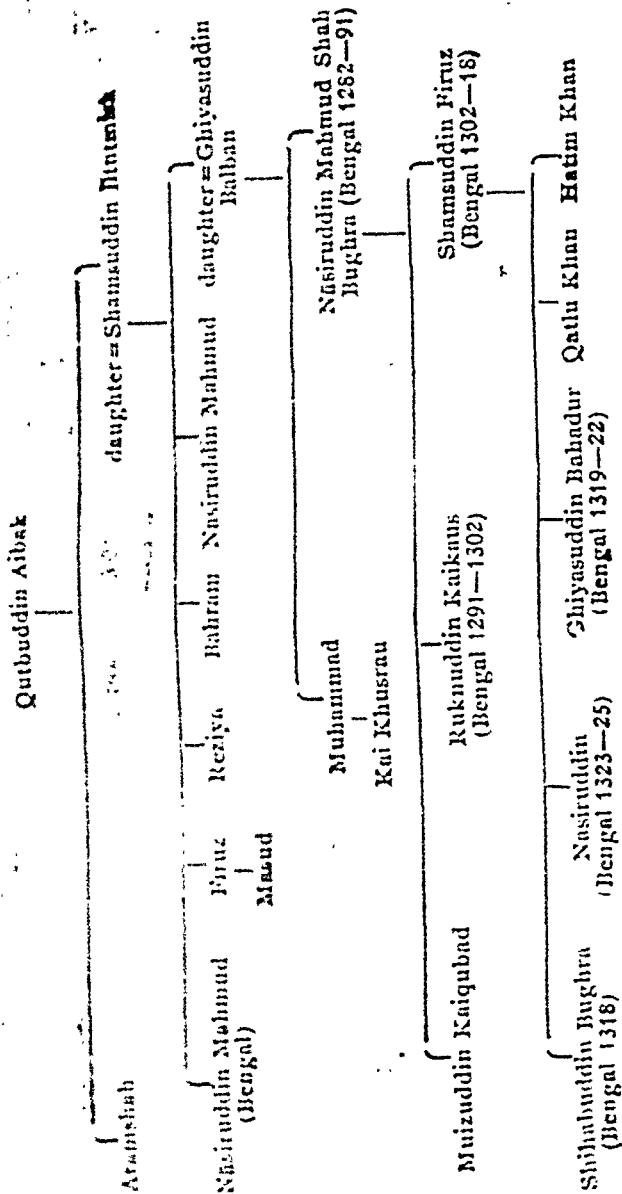
HOUSE OF GHAZNI (LAHORE)



GAHARWAR DYNASTY (KANAUJ)

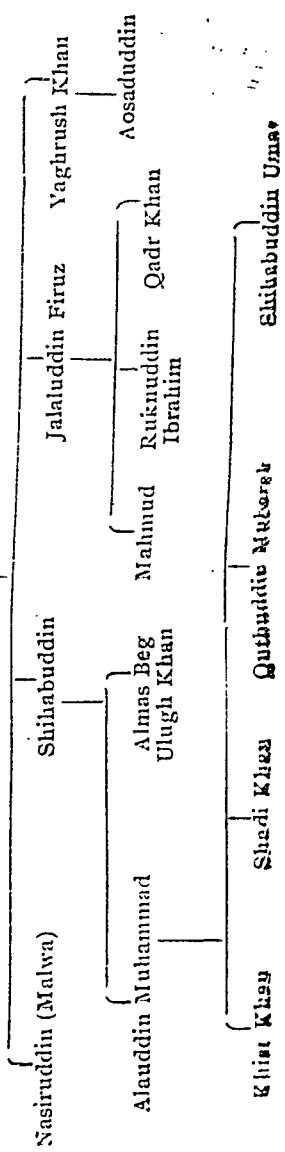


THE SLAVE DYNASTY

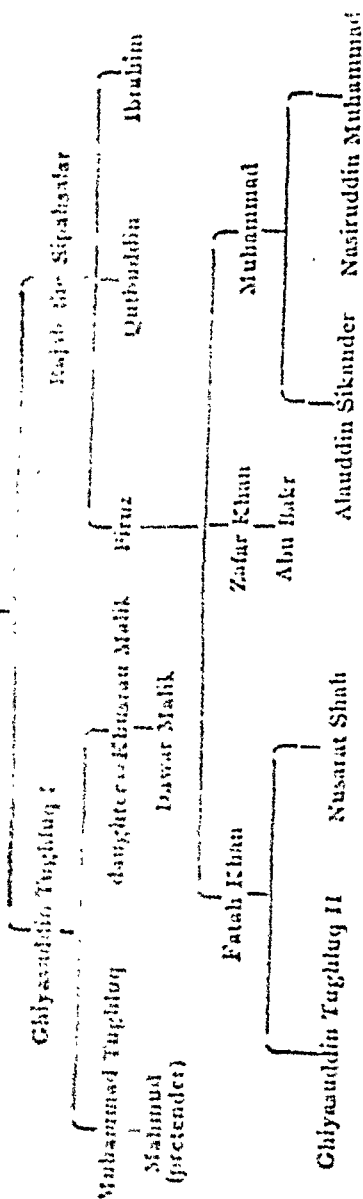


THE KHILJI DYNASTY

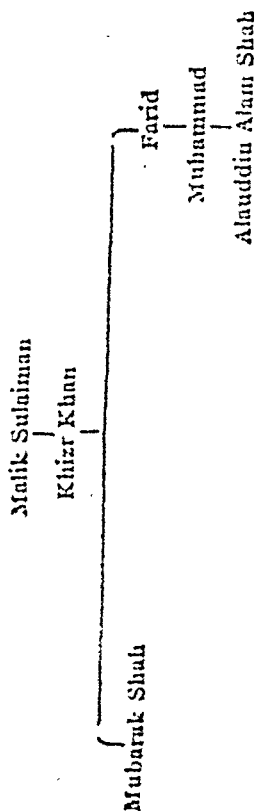
Tulak Khan Qanduji



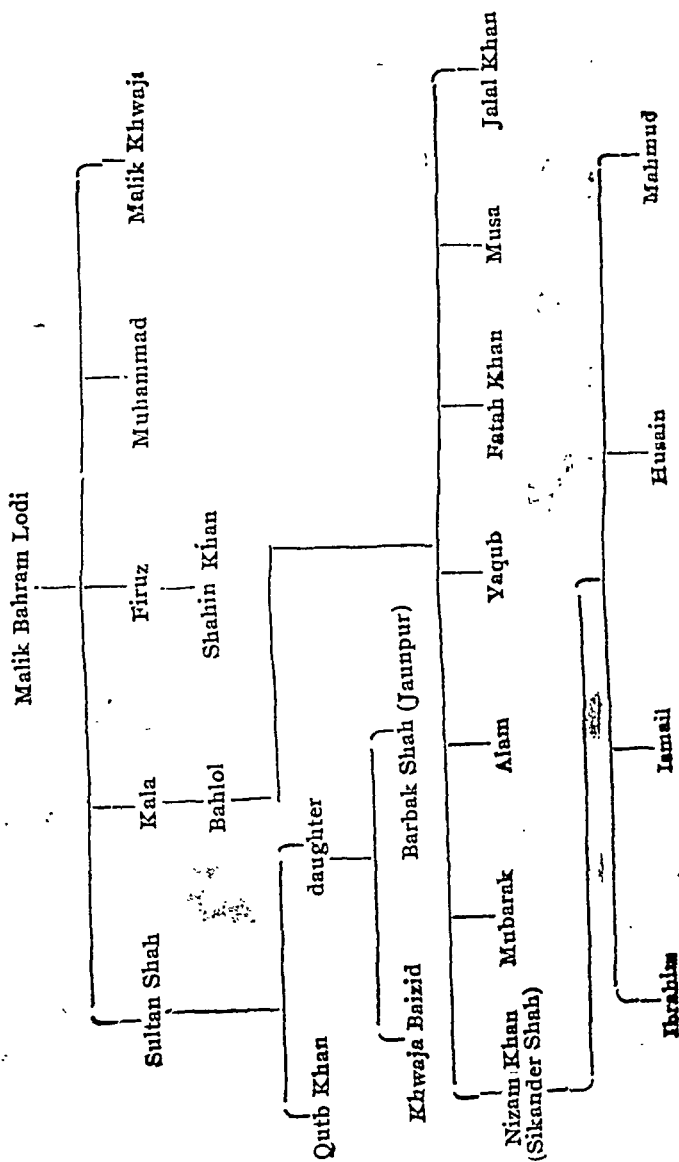
THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY



THE SAYYIDS



THE LODI DYNASTY

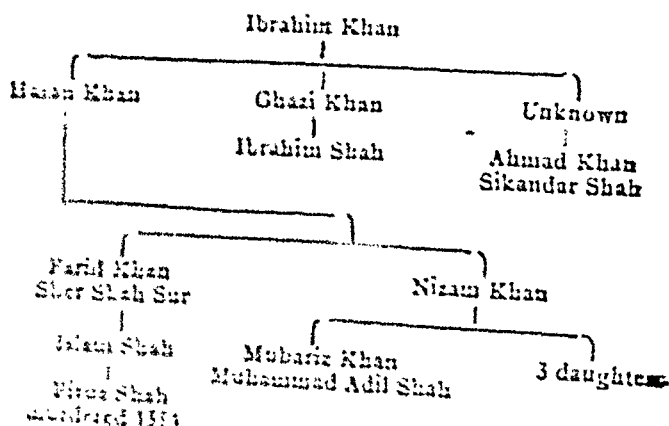


THE BAHAMANI KINGS

Alauddin Bahaman Shah	...	...	1347—58
Muhammad I	...	...	1358—75
Mujahid	...	...	1375—78
Daud	...	...	1378—78
Muhammad II	...	...	1378—97
Ghiyasuddin	...	...	1397—97
Shamsuddin	...	...	1397—97
Tajuddin Firuz	...	...	1397—1422
Ahmad Wali	...	...	1422—36
Alauddin Ahmad	...	...	1436—58
Humayun Zalim	...	...	1458—61
Nizam	...	...	1461—63
Muhammad III (Lashkari)	...	...	1463—1482
Mahmud	...	...	1482—1518
Ahmad	...	...	1518—1521
Alauddin	...	...	1521—1522
Wah-ullah	...	...	1522—1525
Qalim-ullah	...	...	1525—1527

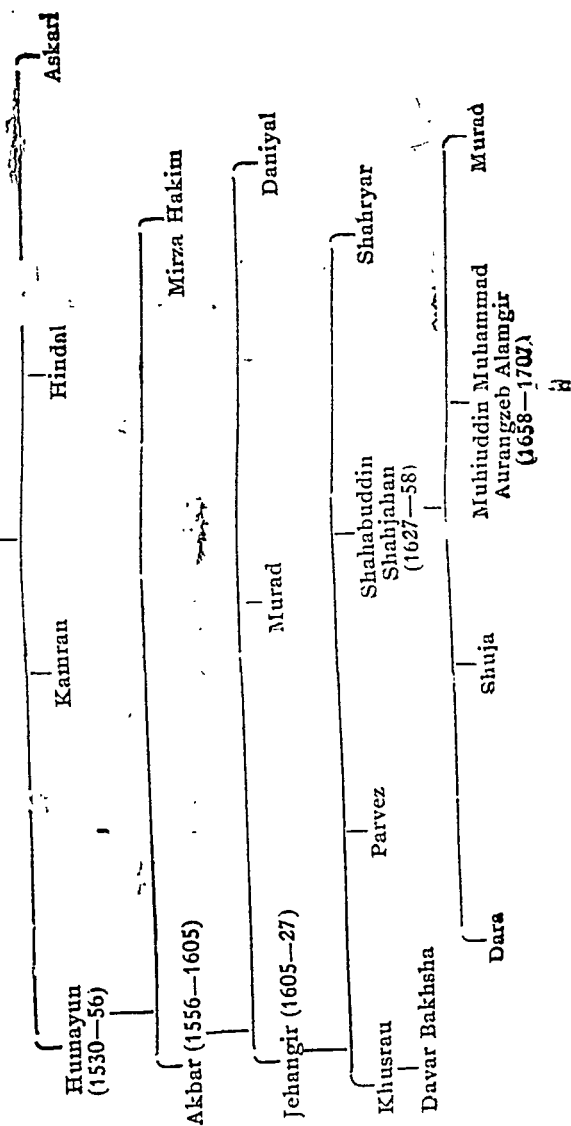
THE SUR DYNASTY

(1540—55)



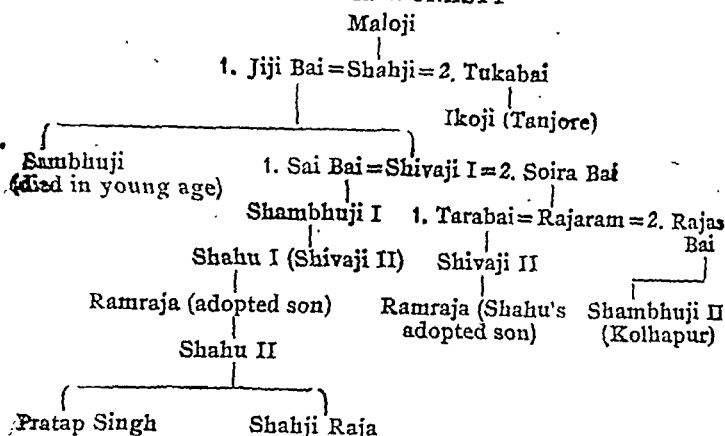
MUGHAL DYNASTY

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar
(1526—30)



HISTORY OF INDIA

MARATHA DYNASTY



PESHTWA DYNASTY

(POONA)

Vishwa Nath

Balaji Vishwa Nath (1714—20)

Bajirao I
(1720—40)

Chimnaji Appa

Sadashiv Rao Bhau

Balaji Bajirao (1740—61)

Raghu Nath Rao Raghoba
(1773)

Naras Rao

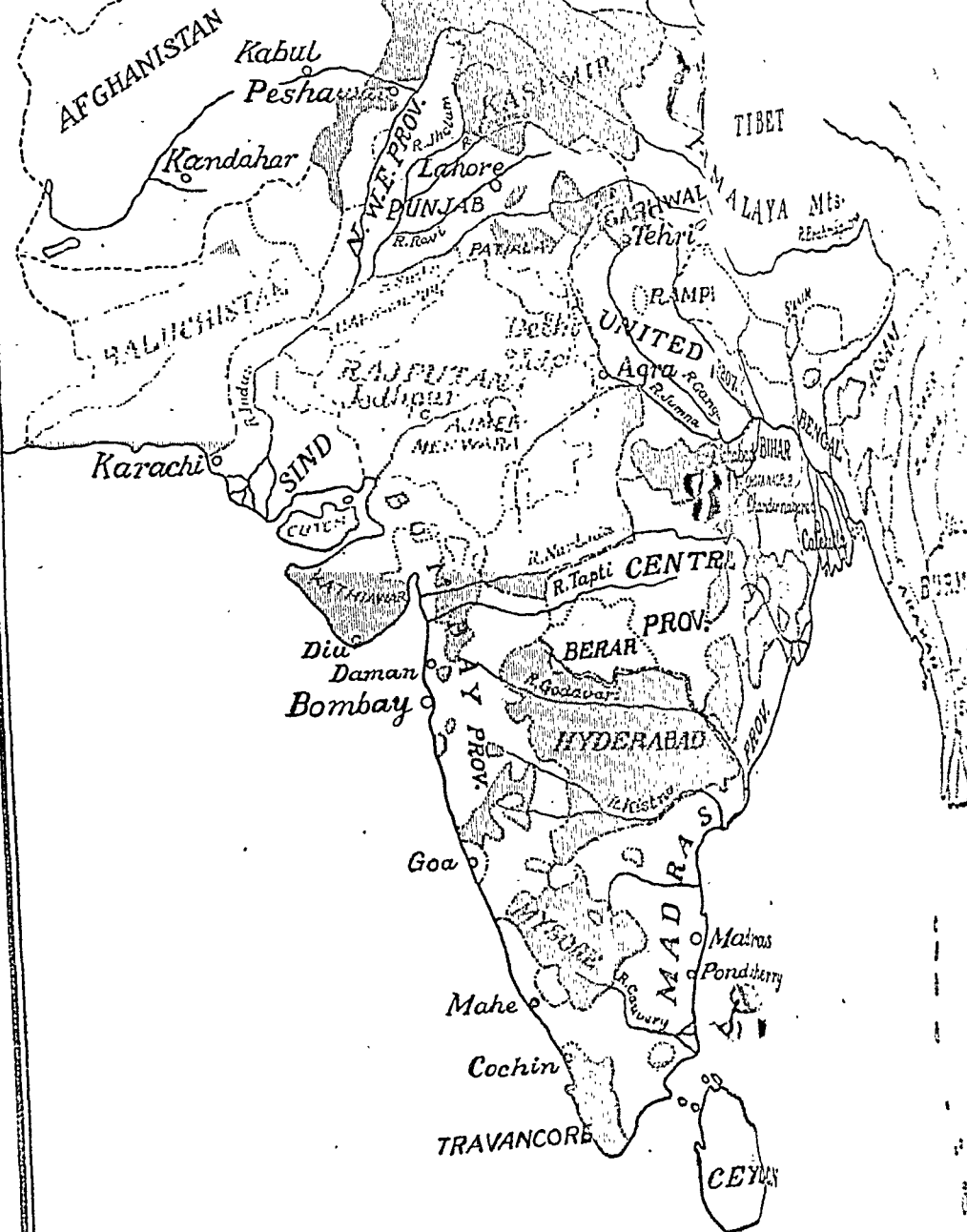
Madhav Rao
(1761—72)Narayan Rao
(1772)Madho Rao
Narayan
(1774—96)Amrit Rao
(adopted son)Bajirao II
(1796—1818)

Chimnaji Appa

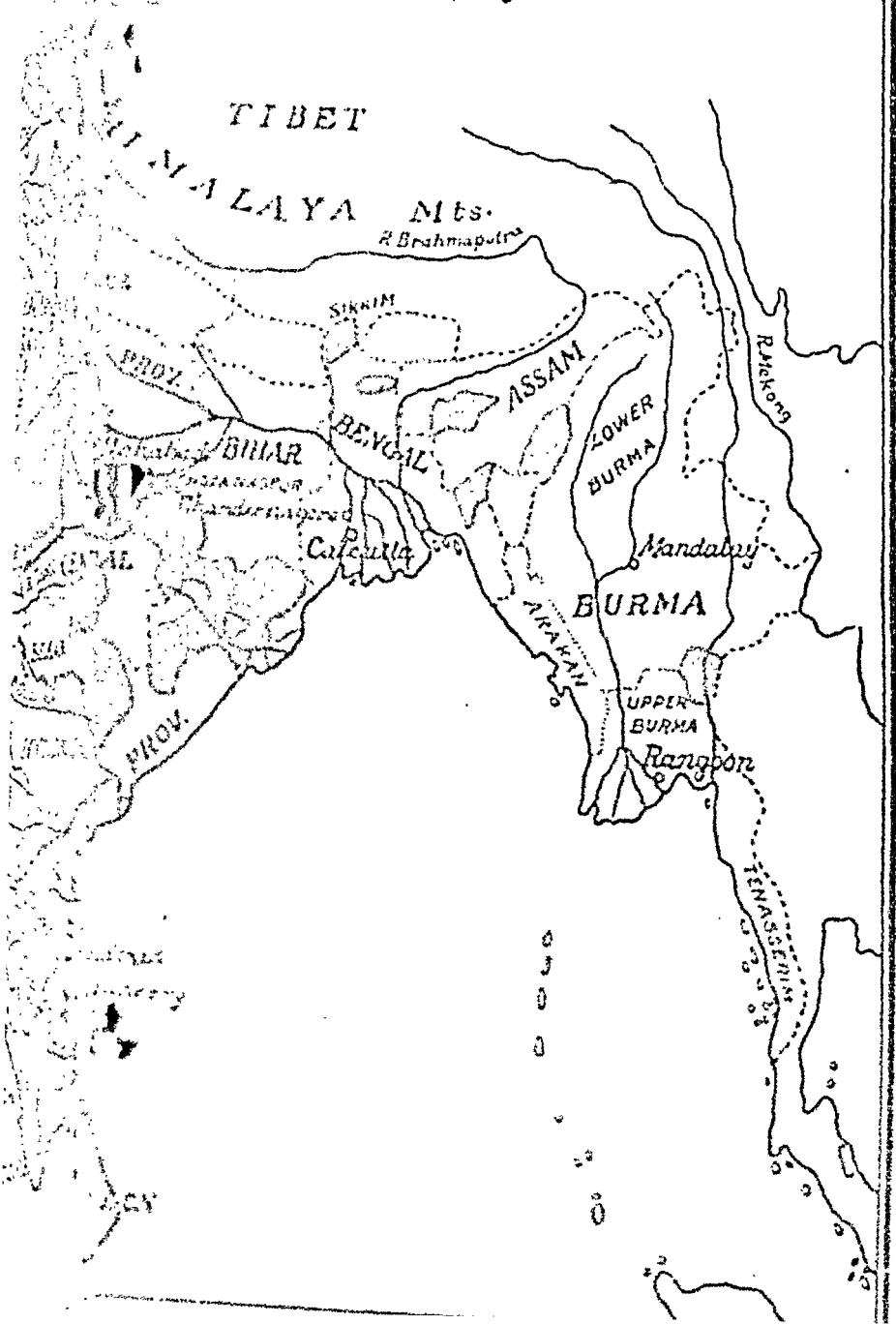
Vinayak Rao

Nana Sahib (adopted son)

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.
1919



THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 1919



of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they as well as our own subjects should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of the duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the act of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field: we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

APPENDIX B

IMPERIAL MESSAGE OF KING EDWARD VII TO
PRINCES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA

November 2, 1908

It is now fifty years since Queen Victoria, my beloved Mother and my August Predecessor on the Throne of these realms, for diverse weighty reasons, with the advice and consent of Parliament, took upon herself the government of the territories theretofore administered by the East India Company. I deem this a fitting anniversary on which to greet the Princes and Peoples of India, in commemoration of the exalted task then solemnly undertaken. Half-a-century is but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half-century, that ends to-day, will stand amid the floods of your historic ages, a far-shining landmark. The Proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of the Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous, and the advances may have sometimes seemed slow; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred millions of the human race, under British guidance and control, has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the past half-century with clear gaze and good conscience.

Difficulties such as attend all human rule, in every age and place have risen up from day to day. They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of my government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved, rigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy.

No secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of nature. For a longer period than was ever known in your land before you have escaped the dire calamities of war within your borders internal peace has been unbroken.

In the great Charter of 1858, Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting

your material convenience and advance—schemes unsurpassed in their magnitude and their boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man, among my subjects, has been favoured, molested, or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilization; it has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men, now and for ages to come; and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

Unwilling that this historic anniversary should pass without some signal mark of Royal clemency and grace I have directed that, as was ordered on the memorable occasion of the Coronation Durbar in 1903, the sentences of persons whom our courts have duly punished for offences against the law, should be remitted, or in various degrees reduced; and it is my wish that such wrong-doers may remain mindful of this act of mercy, and may conduct themselves without offence henceforth.

Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The political satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and

power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of our affairs.

I recognize the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops, and at the New Year I have ordered that opportunity should be taken to show in substantial form this, my high appreciation of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service.

The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me, ever since my visit in 1875, the interests of India, its Princes and Peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom.

May Divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual goodwill that are needed for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time.

[A message read by His Excellency the Viceroy in Durbar at Jodhpur, November 2, 1908.]

APPENDIX C

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION

December 25, 1919

GEORGE V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith; Emperor of India, to my Viceroy and

Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States and to all my subjects in India of whatsoever race or creed Greeting :—

1. Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given my Royal assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better Government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1853 transferred the Administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundation of public life which exists in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law, entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

2. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line. In 1853 Queen Victoria of revered memory, solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects: and she assured to them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903 my dear father, King Edward VII, announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration. Again in his Proclamation of 1908 he renewed the assurances which had been given fifty years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired. On my accession to the Throne in 1910, I sent a message to the Princes and Peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to me of the highest interest and concern. In the following year, I visited India with the Queen-Empress and testified my sympathy for her people and my desire for their well-being.

3. While these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my Predecessors have been animated, the Parliament and the People of this Realm and my Officers in India have been equally

zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence had bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated: the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against Foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings, this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred up to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War, and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety, and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility, has its source at the roots of the British connexion with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connexion has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was, therefore, with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible government.

5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy, and in the march towards the goal, there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that these high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the

state remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries; and, while retaining the confidence of the Legislatures to co-operate with my Officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely upon my Officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

6. It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my Officers to work together for a common purpose. I, therefore, direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measures which in his judgment are compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

7. Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India and may be to advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights, and dignities.

8. It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the New Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British India. May he find mutual goodwill and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country so that success may crown

their labours and progressive enlightenment attend their administration

And with all my people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom.

APPENDIX D

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

Warren Hastings—1773—85.

Sir John Macpherson—1785.

Lord Cornwallis—1785—93.

Sir John Shore—1793—98.

Sir Alured Clarke—1798.

Lord Wellesley—1798—1805.

Lord Cornwallis (Second Time)—1805.

Sir George Barlow—1805—07.

Lord Minto (First)—1807—13.

Lord Hastings—1813—23.

John Adam—1823.

Lord Amherst—1823—28.

William Butterworth Bayley—1828

Lord William Bentinck—1828—35.

Sir Charles Metcalfe—1835—36.

Lord Auckland—1836—42.

Lord Ellenborough—1842—44.

Lord Hardinge (First)—1844—48.

Lord Dalhousie—1848—56.

Lord Canning—1856—58.

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS OF INDIA

- Lord Canning—1858—62.
- Lord Elgin (First)—1862—63.
- Sir John Lawrence—1864—69.
- Lord Mayo—1869—72.
- Lord Northbrook—1872—76.
- Lord Lytton—1876—80.
- Lord Ripon—1880—84.
- Lord Dufferin—1884—88.
- Lord Lansdowne—1888—94.
- Lord Elgin (Second)—1894—99.
- Lord Curzon—1899—1905.
- Lord Minto (Second)—1905—10.
- Lord Hardinge (Second)—1910—14.
- Lord Chelmsford—1916—21.
- Lord Reading—1921—26.
- Lord Irwin—1926—31.
- Lord Willingdon—1931—36.
- Lord Linlithgow—1936—

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ANCIENT INDIA

1. Regozin, Vedic India
2. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India
3. Rapson, Ancient India
4. Mazumdar, Outline of Ancient Indian History and Culture
5. Beal, Life of Hiuen Tsang
6. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures
7. Bhandarkar, Asoka.
8. R. K. Bhandarkar, Peeps into the Early History of the Deccan
9. Radha Kumud, Men and Thought in Ancient India
10. Mukerjee, Radha Kumud, Asoka
11. Mukerjee, Radha Kumud, Harsha (Rulers of India Series)
12. V. Smith, Early History of India
13. V. Smith, Asoka
14. R. D. Banerjee Pre-historic and Ancient India
15. Mukerjee, Radha Kumud. Hindu Civilization
16. A. Coomarswamy, Indian and Indonesian Art
17. Tripathi, History of Ancient India

EARLY MEDIÆVAL INDIA

1. Lane-Poole, Mediæval India
2. C. V. Vaidya, Mediæval Hindu India, 3 Vols.
3. Elphinstone, History of India
4. Elliot, History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, 8 Vols.
5. Briggs, Rise of Muhammadan Power, 4 Vols.
6. Lees, Translation of Ibn Batuta's Travels
7. K. S. Aiyengar, South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders
8. Ishwari Prasad, History of Mediæval India

9. Smith, Oxford History of India
10. Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat
11. Stewart, History of Benga.
12. Ghulam Husain, Niyaz-us-Salatin
13. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, edited by Crooke.
3 Vols.
14. Mallet, History of Sindh
15. King, History of the Deccan
16. Gribble, History of the Deccan, 2 Vols.
17. Commissariat, History of the Gujarat Sultanat
18. Meadows Taylor, History of India
19. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire
20. Ishwari Prasad, History of the Qarauna Turks
21. Cambridge History of India, III
22. Havell, A Hand-Book of Indian Art
23. Sherwani, Mahmud Gāwān
24. Ashraf, Social and Economic Conditions in Mediaeval India.

MUGHAL INDIA

1. Rushbrook-Williams, An Empire Builder of the 16th Century
2. Erskine, History of India under Babar and Humayun, Pts. I
and II
3. Qanungo, Shershab
4. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal
5. Count Von Noer, The Emperor Akbar, two parts
6. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I
7. Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vols. II and III
8. Ranking and Lowe, Al-Badaoni, Vols. I and II
9. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir
10. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, 5 Vols.

11. J. N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration
12. Qanungo, History of the Jats
13. Sarkar, Shivaji, Life and Times
14. Jendendra Nath Sen, Maratha Administration
15. Ranade, Rise of the Mahratta Power
16. Lahwari Prasad, A Short History of Muslim Rule in
17. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, edited by Ed
18. Kincaid and Parasani, History of the Maratha People.
19. Irvine, Later Mughals, 2 Vols.
20. Irvine, The Army of the Mughals
21. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, Constable and
22. Smith, Travels in the Mughal Empire
23. Garrett and Edwardes, India under Mughal Rule
24. Moreland, Agrarian Systems of Moslem India
25. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, 2 Volumes
26. Rawlinson, Shivaji
27. Owen, Fall of the Mughal Empire
28. Cambridge History of India IV
29. S. R. Sharma, History of Mughal India, I, II and
30. D. P. Saxena, History of Shahjahan of Delhi
31. Percy Brown, Mughal Painting (Heritage of India S
32. Havell, Mediæval Architecture
33. Arnold, Mughal Painters.
34. Ibn Hasan, Structure of Mughal Government

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1. Elphinstone, The rise of British Power in the East
2. Keene, History of India, 2 Vols.
3. Roberts, Historical Geography
4. Ramsay Muir, Making of British India

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15. Thakore, Dawn of Responsible Government in India

16. Ilbert, Government of India

17. Anderson and Subedar, Expansion of British India, 1818 to 1858

18. Owen, Wellesley's Despatches

19. Davis, North-Western Frontier

20. Montagu-Chelmsford Report

21. Keene, Mahadaji Sindhia

22. Dodwell, History of India

23. Shorter Cambridge History

24. Davies, Administration of Warren Hastings

25. Roberts, India under Wellesley

26. Keith, Constitutional History of India

27. Alfred Lyall, Rise of British Dominions in India

28. Thompson & Garrett, Fulfillment of British Rule in India

29. Sen, Indian Constitution

30. Marshman, History of India, 3 Vols.

31. Anderson, India Administration

32. Holdetel, The Cortes of India